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ABSTRACT

Teachers' utilization of personal practical knowledge in effecting school reform was analyzed in a three-year project in a Toronto inner city elementary school. The major unit of study was the school, investigated through the eyes of people responsible for school policy. The study, presented in four volumes, focused on the school board's Race Relations Policy and Inner-city Language Development Policy. Participant observers noted the activities of the principal, teachers, and one teacher in particular to determine the key factors affecting their practice in school and classroom. Then these practices were explained in terms of the staff's personal knowledge. This second volume, which deals specifically with the Race Relations Policy, contains two chapters. Chapter 5 (continuing from chapter 4 in volume 1) traces the policy's development and offers an analysis and discussion of the concept of race that emerged. Chapter 6 examines the implementation of the policy, including a description and interpretation of the Race Relations Committee's activities, and board members' actions to ensure the policy was reflected in curriculum materials. (MCK)

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THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' PERSONAL PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE IN EFFECTING BOARD POLICY

VOLUME III

DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF A RACE RELATIONS POLICY FOR THE TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

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The major contributions of the SSHRCC for the first two years were support for graduate assistants, additional computer and word processing assistance, temporary secretarial assistance and travel to and from project schools. Graduate assistants have been involved in seven principal project activities. These included the drafting of papers, interviewing participants, analysis of board documents, participant observation at board-level meetings, participant observation in the school, computer entry of data, and development of computer methodologies for handling textual data. Details are provided in Chapter 2 in the section on project staffing.

SSHRCC is providing additional funding to support the continuation of this study (Grant #410-83-1235).

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This study develops the concept of teachers' personal practical knowledge through a three-year project undertaken in a Toronto inner-city elementary school. Using the method of participant observation, researchers carefully noted the practices of the school principal and teachers, focussing on one teacher in particular, to determine the key factors affecting their practice in school and classroom.

The central purpose of the study is to deepen our understanding of the practice of education by illuminating the actions of practitioners. What teachers and principals do in their schools is explained in terms of their personal practical knowledge, a concept that includes the associated notions of image, narrative unity, ritual, and rhythm. These notions arose out of the researchers' close interaction with school practitioners over the period of study. The results of the project have important implications, not only for an understanding of practice, but also for an insight into how practitioners view school board policy and how they go about implementing it.

This report is organized into four volumes with a combined total of thirteen chapters. Volume I, entitled *Problem, Method and Guiding Conception*, contains four chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study, Chapter 2 gives a detailed summary of its activities, and Chapter 3 provides an account of its methodology. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the various "images" people have of the relationship between theory and practice, and draws on the researchers' experiences in the present study to show how the images held by board and school personnel influenced its shape and direction.

Volume II, *Development and Implementation of a Race Relations Policy by the Toronto Board of Education*, deals with the specific policy selected for purposes of this study -- the Race Relations Policy. A history of the development of the policy is given in Chapter 5, along with an analysis and discussion of the concept of race that emerged during the process of development. Chapter 6 presents a detailed account of the implementation of the policy, describing the activities of the Race Relations Committee and interpreting its work as an agent of policy implementation. As well, the chapter describes the actions taken by board officials to ensure that the policy was reflected in the curriculum materials used in classrooms.

Volume III, *Personal Practical Knowledge*, develops the central concept of the study and introduces several associated concepts. Chapter 7 introduces the notion of personal practical knowledge, built up through close observation and interpretation of events in the inner-city school under study. Various associated concepts -- image, narrative unity, and ritual -- are

subsequently introduced to help explain their actions. The notion of image as a personal knowledge construct exerting a powerful influence on practice is developed in Chapter 8 in connection with one teacher's image of the classroom, and further elaborated in Chapters 9 and 10 in connection with the principal's image of community. Chapter 9 also discusses the function of rituals and personal philosophies in school practice, and Chapter 10 develops the concept of narrative unity as a way of giving an account of a principal's school practices. The concept of narrative unity is then broadened to include cultural narratives, which provide a context for personal narratives. These notions are used to shed light on the relationship between school and community.

Volume IV, *Personal Practical Knowledge and Ethnic Relations*, begins with an account of the Board's Race Relations Policy as it is put into practice in the school under study, using the perspective of personal practical knowledge (Chapter 11). Chapter 12 shows how personal and cultural narratives are expressed through cycles and rhythms, which find their place in the interaction of these narratives. Cycles are shown to have an affinity to the broader societal context, and rhythms to the personal world of the individual. The role of cycles and rhythms in modulating school and community relations is described. Finally, Chapter 13 summarizes personal practical knowledge as the way that practioners "know" their school and classroom and the determining influence on how they deal with matters such as race and ethnic relations. The chapter closes with recommendations for using the knowledge gained in this study to enrich classroom practice.

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- Dr. Ouida Wright, Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum, Toronto Board of Education
- Mr. John Bates, Toronto Board of Education
- Mr. Tony Sousa, Race Relations Advisor, Toronto Board of Education
- Bay Street School Participants: Phil Bingham, Stephanie Winters, Ellen Bodnar, Cynthia Smith, Grace Anderson (all pseudonyms)

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- Mr. Jim Kormos, for his analysis of the History of the Race Relations Policy, presented in Chapter 5.
- Mr. Claus Wittmack, for his participation in the project.
- Miss J. Whyte, for her participation in project activities and for her analysis of the curriculum materials, presented in Chapter 6.
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F.M.C.
D.J.C.

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Chapter 5

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RACE RELATIONS POLICY OF THE TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

This chapter is divided into Parts A and B. The general objective of Part A is to trace the historical development of the Race Relations Policy of the Toronto Board of Education. The general objective of Part B is to identify the concept of race underlying the Race Relations Policy. These objectives require the accomplishment of the following specific tasks:

1. Identification of relevant documents
2. Conceptual analysis of relevant documents
3. Understanding the decision-making process
4. Giving a coherent account of the working conception of race pervading the Board's policy on race relations
5. Providing a pre-history development of the policy itself
6. Establishing a chronology of significant events, and issues
7. Giving a coherent account of the historical development of the policy

The procedures followed in carrying out the tasks are outlined below. (Note that since these are procedures rather than the actual tasks, the headings do not correspond to those in the list above.)

5.1. DOCUMENT COLLECTION

Between June 1 and August 31, 1981,the researchers made several visits to the library and archives of the Toronto Board of Education. On their first visit they were able to identify three boxes that contained most of the documents relating to the evolution of the Board's policy on race relations. On subsequent visits they were shown bound volumes of the Board minutes which covered the period being studied (1977 to 1981).

The initial strategy for document collection was to scan all the documents and identify those that related to the Race Relations Policy of the Board. The bound volumes of Board minutes contained decisions on a wide range of subjects, many of which had no relationship to race or the Race Relations Policy. The primary task was screening relevant from irrelevant material. The general criterion of relevance was reference, direct or indirect, to race, racism or race relations.

The next step was to have copies of relevant documents duplicated. Duplicate copies of relevant documents were filed under appropriate labels and stored in the project office at OISE. During this stage the researchers regularly presented and discussed their impressions of the documents with project staff.

5.2. CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS

Once a document was judged relevant to the Board's Race Relations Policy, it qualified for a close conceptual analysis. Each document was scrutinized for statements containing references to race or racism. A statement was judged to contain a reference to race if it contained the words *race* or *racism* or other words such as *ethnic* or *ethnicity*, that denote concepts that are subsumed by *race*. All statements judged to pertain to race were highlighted for easy reference and later served as material for this study.

The next step in the analysis was to look at each statement in terms of the concepts it conveyed, the issues it addressed, and its bearing or impact on the Board's policy. For example, a statement containing a reference to race might be in the context of discrimination in the workplace. This would tie it to the issue of Affirmative Action. If it originated from a public meeting, it might

have an impact on recommendations later forwarded by a committee to the Board. The recommendation, or a modification of it, might be passed by the Board and become policy. This stage of the analysis, therefore, assessed each statement in terms of its significance.

A concept or issue was judged to be significant if it occurred frequently in a document or if it appeared to have gained the attention of a deliberating body such as a committee. The criterion of frequency of occurrence upon which the selection of concepts was based varied according to the length of the document or documents in which it appeared.

5.3. ESTABLISHING A CHRONOLOGY

The next task was to construct a chronology of important events in the evolution of the Race Relations Policy. The purpose was to provide a perspective on the various conditions that determined the use or adoption of one concept rather than another.

5.4. THE SELECTION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Following identification of the concepts contained in the documents, the next step was to assess their magnitude in terms of their impact on the Race Relations Policy. Although many concepts were current at stages in the formulation of the policy, their impact was lost somewhere along the line as was evidenced by their absence in the documents prepared for public use. Concepts that had maintained currency were identified by reference to the Toronto Board's *Final Report of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations*, published in May 1979; and *The Race Relations Report*, comprising the Final Recommendations (November 23rd, 1978), and the Implementation Report of September 20th, 1979. Frequency of occurrence and perceived significance of concept in the evolution of the policy were the principal criteria used. For example, the phrase 'visible minority' occurs frequently in the recommendations contained in the two documents. Other documents reveal that this concept was of significant concern to many people in several consultation meetings of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations (SCRR).

5.5. DESCRIPTION OF DATA

This chapter is based on an analysis of several documents held in the library and archives of the Toronto Board of Education. Though the materials are heterogeneous in nature and origin, and vary in their impact on the Board's Race Relations Policy, they can be considered under five categories. These are: background materials, briefs and submissions, staff papers, minutes and impressions of meetings, and reports. As extensive use of excerpts from these documents is made, a description of each category is provided below to help the reader recognize the sources of and necessary links among the concepts and issues discussed.

5.5.1. Background Reading Material

This batch of materials comprises journal and newspaper articles published mainly in the U.S.A., Canada and Britain. It also includes a Nova Scotia Court ruling on discrimination in education and a complaint by a "concerned parent" reporting and exemplifying racial stereotyping. These materials were supplied to members of the SCRR on eight separate occasions (meetings) during their deliberations.

5.5.2. Briefs and Submissions

These papers are written opinions and views which were presented and defended by various individuals and interest groups (e.g., the Black Liaison Committee). They contain opinions about racism and how it should be dealt with in the educational context.

5.5.3. Staff Papers

During the course of its deliberations (beginning June 20th, 1977) the SCRR identified a number of issues (ten categories altogether) which it intended to take to the schools and community as a basis for consultation. Staff members drafted issue sheets summarizing the topics and questions on which the Sub-Committee wished to hold consultations. These became known as the Issue Papers. There were three of them: Student, Community, and System Issue Papers.

5.5.4. Minutes and Impressions of Meetings

Three sets of minutes are utilized in this report. They are: (a) Minutes of the Toronto Board of Education, referred to simply as Board Minutes; (B) Minutes of the Multiculturalism Programs and Racism Committee (MPRC), also referred to occasionally as the Main Committee; and (c) Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations (SCRR). Minutes of the MPRC run from March 16, 1977 to February 7, 1978 while those of the SCRR run from April 28, 1977 to December 4, 1978. With respect to the Race Relations Policy, the latter set of minutes is more informative.

In addition to minutes of regular meetings, detailed impressions of four public meetings were recorded. These impressions, written in point form, give a vivid summary of the substance of the four consultation meetings that the SCRR held during its deliberations on the Race Relations Policy.

5.5.5. Reports

In addition to minutes, impressions, and background papers, there are copies of various reports prepared by the SCRR. The final report, however, is not among the materials kept in the archives. This report was obtained for the project by J. Kormos.

5.5.6. Other Information Sources

John Brown, a doctoral candidate working on a dissertation focussed on the Race Relations Policy, participated in a Fall 1981 Project personnel meeting. Information shared at that meeting provided the basis for subsequent meetings between Mr. Brown and Mr. Kormos. Both the meetings and the material collected for the dissertation served as important sources of information for Part A of this chapter.

PART A: AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY ON RACE RELATIONS

5.1 OVERVIEW

On March 16th, 1977, the Toronto Board of Education mandated the establishment of a Sub-committee on Race Relations (SCRR) with the following responsibility:

> *To seek representation and make recommendations concerning those specific actions which can be taken by the Toronto Board of Education and its teaching staff to combat the spread of racism in Toronto* (Board Minutes, March 16, 1977).

Over the next twenty months the SCRR engaged in a series of activities that culminated in the presentation of 119 recommendations to the Board for approval as policy in November of 1978. The activities included the issuance of discussion papers designed to promote dialogue during consultation with community, teacher, student and other school system individuals and groups. In May of 1978, a Draft Report containing 159 proposed recommendations "for combatting racism in every sphere of our enterprise" was produced and widely distributed (Draft Report, 1978, p.iv). A second round of consultation was completed during the late spring and early fall of 1978, and the Final Report presented to the Board during October of that year.

5.2 Chronology of Committee Actions Taken

Table 1 provides a summary of major events in the development of the Toronto Board's Race Relations Policy.

TABLE 1
CHRONOLOGY OF SRCC ACTIONS

Key Dates	*Principal Actions*
March 16, 1977	Sub-committee on Race Relations struck and mandate established.
April 28, 1977	First official meeting of the SCRR; decision that consultation with students, system personnel and community most effective way to influence behaviour and activities; internal discussions and presentations; defining the problem.
June 20, 1977	Procedural clarification from Parent Committee and Board of Education on conduct of consultations and constructing of Issue Papers.
July 6, 1977	Discussions regarding hiring and promotion; reading materials and presentations by experts.
Sept. 22, 1977	Weekend retreat for SCRR.
October, 1977	Planning the consultation process.
Oct. 27, 1977 to Mar. 29, 1978	City-wide meetings and local area meetings.
December, 1977 to February, 1978	School visits.
November, 1977 to March, 1978	Oral and written briefs in response to Issue Papers.
February 19 to May 10, 1978	Structuring the Draft Report; generating recommendations; writing, vetting, re-writing.
May 23, 1978	Release of the Draft Report.
May to September, 1978	Consultation Meetings: city-wide, area and school, and student meetings; presentations to the SCRR.
October 24, 1978	Presentation of Final Report of the SCRR.
November/December, 1978	Consideration and Approval by the Board

5.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON THE ISSUE OF RACE

5.3.1 Introduction

This historical account is divided into two sections, the first describing the history of race relations in Toronto up to 1977, and the second describing events in the development of policy by the Toronto Board. The first section consists of excerpts and some paraphrases, with permission, from a recent dissertation (John Brown, "An Exploration of the Construction of Recommendations for Policy of Education: Investigating the Culture of Administration," Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1982). This section, compiled by Brown through document analysis and interviews with committee members, shows a history of attention to the issue of race through the larger concern for immigrant education. To those interviewed, Brown concluded, the concept of race appeared lodged within the framework of immigration. This section is included as a backdrop to the Board's actions in developing its Race Relations Policy.

The second section is based primarily on the present researcher's analysis of Committee documents in the Board archives, and secondarily on brief passages from Brown's account. In addition, Brown contributed the list of background reading material for the SCRR, since the original list in the archives was incomplete. In both sections, direct excerpts from Brown's dissertation are marked (d). This procedure was used in the first section to retain background material judged important by SCRR members and reported to Brown. Section two draws directly from his description when his analyses coincide with those of the project researcher. Clarity and brevity in expression and accuracy of detail were the criteria used in making these selections.

5.3.2 Race Relations in Toronto up to 1977

March 18, 1982 marked a century of documented attention to the issue of race by the Toronto Board of Education. On that date 100 years ago the *Toronto Star* reported that a student had "learned to write in the course of a four months' session of the Toronto Board night schools" and that "he was 63 years old and looks a genuine specimen of an aged wooly-headed negro." (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1977, p.65).

In the 1913 Annual Report to the Board, the Chief Inspector of Schools for the City noted:

> *In the past few years City has received a great number of migrants from nations not Anglo-Saxon. So great has been this influx, that we now have in this city a foreign population of about 70,000.*
>
> *If these people are to be assimilated and made good citizens, it must be largely through education. The Board of Education realizes this and provides literally for these people..*
>
> *The progress these people make is marvellous. The teachers do not know the languages of these foreigners, and the results obtained prove that it is not necessary that they should to teach these people* (Ibid., p.65).

The influx of significant numbers of immigrants around 1851, 1901-1921 and 1951-1971 led to the enacting of provincial statutes.

> *...legislation such as the Racial Discrimination Act of 1944 and the Fair Employment Practices Act of and the Fair Accommodation Practices act of the 1950's had already established non-discrimination standards in areas other than education. In 1958 the anti-Discrimination Commission was formed to publicize human rights activities in Ontario. This organization later developed into the more powerful...Human Rights Commission (1961), which administers the Human Rights Code, a consolidation of all the fair practice statutes* (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1975, p.86).

Immigration during the 1960s focussed the attention of the Toronto Board of Education on the issue of race. An examination of a 1965 study conducted by the research department of the Board, however, shows that the issue of race was still framed within a cultural/ethnic context. The study, designed to assess the impact of the Board's Junior Kindergarten program on pupil achievement, used the following as part of its data collection procedure:

> *During the 1960-61 school year, all JKP teachers filled in, as completely as possible for each child individually, a Pupil Profile Folder which contained some forty-odd survey items for gathering data about the pupil himself and certain familial, socio-economic and cultural factors of the pupil's home environment. ...Cultural factors in the study included pupils' and parents' Caucasion, Negroid or Asiatic racial origin, the countries in which pupils and parents were born, and finally the languages spoken by the pupils as well as in the homes* (Toronto Board of Education, 1965, pp.44-45).

In spite of recollections of the presence of racism in the past, most SCRR members agreed with the conclusion expressed in one of the reports they had read during their deliberations, as follows:

> ... *Toronto had come through the 60's with a reputation for the preservation of neighbourhoods, the creation of an efficient public system policy, fire and transportation services, and most important of all, (that) people of all colours, ethnic backgrounds and religious traditions could enjoy its public places in safety* (Toronto Area Municipalities, 1977, p.22).

By the mid-1970's, neither the author of this report nor the members of the SCRR felt the same conditions prevailed. Both referred to marked demographic shifts in immigration composition as part of their explanations for the changes in Toronto. The report, for instance, notes that while 19% of the Toronto area municipalities' population in 1951 was born outside Canada, the percentage had increased to 37% by 1971 (*Ibid.*, pp.36,37). It also notes that between 1967 and 1976 Caribbean countries and India replaced European countries as the five leading source areas for immigrants. By 1976, Asia, the West Indies and Africa accounted for 59% of the immigrants to the area, while Europe accounted for 34%. Immigration was adding a multi-racial as well as a multicultural dimension to Toronto's population.

A Board work group recognized the nature of the shift in immigration to Canada by noting that between 1963 and 1973, the country's Black immigrants had increased by 306%, and its East Indian immigrants by 23%, while the number of Italian immigrants had actually decreased by 55%. The trends were also reflected in a study by the Board's research department comparing the composition of the Board's immigrant population in 1970 with that in 1975 (Toronto Board of Education, 1975, p.129).

In December of 1973 a meeting was conducted between the Brotherhood Community Centre Project (a co-ordinating group associated with some thirty-eight Black organizations in the area) and senior administrative staff, including the Director of the Board (Braithwaite, 1977, pp.3-5). Discussion focussed on such concerns as the lack of Black studies in the curriculum, language and cultural problems, school relations with the Black community, and the perceived complexity of the system, particularly in such areas as the placement of students (d).

In 1975 the Ontario Human Rights Commission released a study of the perception of discrimination against Blacks in the Toronto area. Among its findings was the following:

> *Although not as frequently mentioned as the area of job opportunities, but almost as frequently mentioned as housing, education was the third area in which respondents perceived discrimination against blacks to exist.*

The study's recommendations for action by local boards included correcting the omission of Black contributions to Canada, informing teachers of the problems peculiar to Black students, reviewing hiring practices, and promoting qualified Blacks within the system (d).

During discussion at the April 14, 1974 meeting of the Board's New Canadian Committee, the Chairman of the Board was asked to form a work group to make recommendations concerning the philosophy and programs to be adopted by the Board towards the New Canadian students. In five weeks the Committee brought its recommendations to the Board for approval. The new group was to be called the Work Group on Multicultural Programs (WGMP), comprising six trustees and an administrative staff of three. The WGMP's terms of reference were:

a. To investigate and explore the philosophy and programs related to Toronto's multicultural population. This must include consultation and involvement with staff, students, parents and the community at large.

b. To examine current practices related to the operation of the Board's multicultural programs.

c. (a) To recommend to the Board long-range policy-related philosophy and programs. b) To recommend to the Board implementation procedures for the above. c) To consider the financing and structural needs determined by the proposed policy (Toronto Board of Education, 1975, p.107 ff).

During the course of the investigations mandated by the Board, the WGMP prepared and distributed a discussion paper (1974), a draft report (1975), and a final report (1976). A broadly based consultative process brought some 250 written and/or oral submissions to the WGMP during its two-year existence. While the principal thrust of the Group's activities was toward

increasing responsiveness to the city's altered culture, the submissions suggested that race was also considered an important area for Board attention. Section III of the Final Report of the WGMP addresses the issue of system sensitivity and makes specific recommendations concerning race (d), recommending that:

51. An in-service program be developed...for attitudinal and sensitivity development, and practical suggestions for dealing with incidents of racism in the schools.

54. The Board seek the co-operation of the ... Human Rights Commission in the establishment of a committee to develop methods for handling accusations of racism.

55. When incidents of racism occur among the student body, those incidents should not be ignored, but become the focus for discussion and subsequent learning.

56. The issue of racism be a topic for school discussion, and that a program be developed for integration into the regular school program (p.37).

The status of race as an authentic object for inquiry was soon to be reinforced by community events that demanded the attention of the Board, as evidenced by the following excerpts from a Board report:

> *Saturday, June 5th, 1976: At the ball diamond in Regent Park, a white youth was cut by a black Jamaican youth with a knife, and needed 50-65 stitches for his injured arm.*
>
> *Monday, June 7th, 1976: During a soccer game at the baseball diamond in Regent Park, a black youth stabbed a white youth. After this altercation, a group of whites chased some blacks...Later the white youths congregated outside a house on St. John's Walk. They stormed the house breaking windows and smashing pieces of furniture with baseball bats....The black mother of the household ran to the police station for help.* (Toronto Board of Education, 1976, pp.4-6).

During the July 8, 1976 meeting of the Board, the School Programs Committee expressed concern that

> *...recent events...indicate that racial tensions are increasing in Regent Park area and therefore, recommends that the Director of Education be authorized to hire part-time research and community development staff for the summer of 1976* (Board Minutes).

The recommendations led to the appointment of a study team composed of a teacher, a principal, and a community worker from the Black Education Project. The report of their findings, presented to the Board on October 19 1976, included twenty-two recommendations for the Board. These addressed such subjects as weapons, employment, discipline, and in-service programs. The report sought to describe causes for the incidents, and the schools were not exempt from its purview (d).

Following the appearance of an article in the *Toronto Sun* of January 7, 1977, reminding Board officials of "The stated intent of the Board to engage in a wider study", a letter was forwarded to each member of the Board from the Black Liaison Committee. Expressing concern that "no attempt was made to consult with the Committee on an issue which is of such obvious concern to us", the letter concluded that "the Report seems to be a worthwhile preliminary undertaking which suggests the need for a broader study."(d).

A public meeting was arranged for March 2nd to "consider two alternative proposals for considering a study of Multiculturalism and Racism in Education" (Board Minutes, February 8, 1977). Discussion indicated that race relations was a pressing matter and that immediate action should be taken. At the meeting were the Director, teachers, principals, trustees, and over sixty community representatives (d). They examined three different models for the proposed investigation of racism. Little support was expressed for the plan that would have included only trustees in the study group. Finally, a plan was endorsed to create a sub-committee of the WGMP, now re-named the Multicultural Programs and Racism Committee. The sub-committee was to include trustee, community and system membership. (Several reports of this meeting are contained in the Notice of March 11, 1977, of the March 16, 1977, WGMP meeting.

The Committee's March 16th meeting determined that a Sub-committee on Race Relations (SCRR) would be formed, and would report to the parent group, now called the Committee on Race Relations and Multiculturalism. Representation on the SCRR was decided at this meeting, and on April 5th, the Board considered the Director's suggestion concerning the assignment of administrative staff to it.

5.3.3 History of the Development of the Race Relations Policy by the SCRR

On April 14, 1977, the Board approved the formation of the SCRR, providing it with a mandate,

> *To seek representation and make recommendations concerning those specific actions which can be taken by the Board of Education and its teaching staff to combat the spread of racism in Toronto* (Board Minutes).

The designated agencies and personnel were contacted, and on the evening of April 28, 1977, the SCRR convened at the Education Centre. Of the four trustees who were members of the SCRR, three belonged to the "reform group" of the Board. This group had been active in promoting such policy initiatives as the Task Force on Vocational Schools (1973), the WGMP (1975) and the Affirmative Action Report (1977). The 1977 Chairman of the board acted as Chairman of the SCRR as well.

5.3.3.1 Deliberations on the Problem, and Procedures for Investigation. Two related thrusts marked the deliberations of the SCRR from March to September 1977. Using the Board mandate as a starting point, the Sub-committee sought information through presentations from representatives of liaison groups and from experts in race relations. Reading materials on matters of race were provided by senior staff (See References). In addition, the SCRR drew upon senior staff's experience with earlier policies and work groups to establish procedures for consulting with interested parties and deriving additional information on the issue of race relations in the school system.

The SCRR minutes during this period show considerable discussion about the nature of the problem to be explored and about definitions of what constituted racism. The SCRR also paid considerable attention to the conditions responsible for the existence of racism, perceptions of its extent within the school system, and existing hiring and promotion practices. In presentations to the SCRR, experts spoke about current efforts to correct injustices, the limits of research on the problem, the common practice of abuse, and racially motivated placement of minorities in "special" schools. (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1968, 1975; Toronto Area Municipalities, 1977.)

Outlines of the three Issue Papers were prepared in order to focus and

encourage discussion when consultation began. The SCRR decided to structure the Papers for the schools and the community around such topics as racial incidents, teacher training, support services, streaming, curriculum, extra-curricular activities, hiring and promotion of staff, and school-community relations. The SCRR also decided not to impose a definition of racism on the planned consultation sessions (SCRR Minutes, June 20, 1977). The Issue Papers were to be used to elicit responses from students, community, and system personnel. These responses would provide the basis for recommendations for a Draft Report for system-wide consideration prior to formulation of the Final Report. In September the entire SCRR went into a weekend retreat to consolidate their learning on the problem and to explore ideas on how consultation could best be conducted (SCRR Minutes, July 6, September 14, 1977).

5.3.3.2 Consultation Meetings - First Round. The consultation plan developed during these October 1977 meetings of the SCRR called for two city-wide public meetings, six school-area meetings and numerous school visitations. Submissions in response to the Issue Papers were encouraged. The Papers are briefly described below.

The Student Issue Paper was a three-page document that sought to encourage consideration of the issue of Race Relations in the School. Students were asked to consider the issues under the following headings: incidents of race relations, curriculum activities, teaching and non-teaching staff, placement in elementary and secondary schools, students' councils, and social interactions. For each sub-heading, a general introductory statement was made followed by several exploratory questions that the reader was asked to consider (d).

The Community Issue Paper, a document of six pages in length, orders consideration of race relations around the topics of forms of racial prejudice and discrimination, curriculum and program, race relations and attitudes, race and school-community relations, placement, values, composition of school staffs, and extra-curricular activities. Again, an initial introductory statement in each section is followed by a series of more specific probes (d).

The Systems Issue Paper was much lengthier (twenty-five pages) and

more detailed attempt to promote discussion of perceived issues. The format was similar, with the exception of the inclusion of a four-page appendix on affirmative action plans. The Issue Paper was structured around the topics of employment of racial minority personnel and their promotion to positions of responsibility, race relations and the teaching, administrative and support services staffs, assessment and placement, extra-curricular activities, community use of school facilities, curriculum, and values clarification (d).

The SCRR visited nineteen selected schools to discuss the Papers and the issues raised in them with staff, including administrators, and students. The SCRR sought to allay any misgivings by setting out the intended purposes of the visits in a memorandum to all principals (Memorandum from SCRR to Principal Officials, November 23, 1977, p.1). The purposes were:

> a. To seek formal and/or informal response from school staffs and students on the issues set out in the System Issue Paper and the Student Issue Paper.
>
> b. To discover from the respondents whether, according to any information they may have, or in their opinion and understanding, the issues themselves as set out in the paper, are valid in terms of relations (inter-racial communications, transactions, etc.) among people of different races who make up the population of the schools and of the city.
>
> Committee members will try to make it clear to respondents that the Issue Paper is not a position paper or a report. It is merely a reference point from which the consultation process can begin and it is subject to any manner or degree of change which consultation itself might indicate.

The most consistent message delivered by teachers was that race relations did not constitute a problem in the schools.

The SCRR received some forty-five written and/or oral briefs, prior to the construction of the Draft Report, dated May, 1978. Five of these formal briefs were oral. Sixteen more were delivered orally and included a written submission as well. Of the briefs submitted, ten were from schools in the system, three from the central board office, twenty-four from various community agencies and individuals, and the remaining eight from staff and system associations, area officials, and teachers (d).

The second chapter of the SCRR's Draft Report contains a description and assessment of all the responses to the Issue Papers and the first round of consultation meetings. More specifically, the SCRR saw three themes dominating these submissions. Responses from within the system were seen to be "generally defensive"(p.15). Secondly, the summary indicated that community responses usually contended that "the system's response to visible minority students, teachers and parents is insensitive and negative," and that discrimination and cultural ignorance were held responsible for this condition (p.18). Thirdly, it was argued that student responses tended to "be more comfortable and less defensive than adults," although little consensus was seen to have emerged from their remarks (p.18).

5.3.3.3 Production of the Draft Report. The translation, into recommendations for policy, of written suggestions, spoken remarks, and personal notions took fourteen meetings of the SCRR between February 19 and May 10, 1978. This series of meetings began with the staff presentation to the SCRR of a proposed outline for the Draft Report, and general discussion on the desired thrust of each section (SCRR Minutes, February 19, 1978). The outline was as follows:

I	Introduction
II	The Consultation Process and The Responses
III	Race Relations and the Curriculum
IV	Placement and Assessment
VI	Extra-Curricular Activities
VII	System Sensitivity and In-Service Opportunities
VIII	Employment and Race Relations
IX	Promotion and Race Relations
X	Equal Opportunity Programming
XI	Responsibilities of Other Levels of Government
XII	Appendix

The structure and sequence of the Report was approved by the Sub-Committee at its meeting of May 4, 1978. The SCRR sought to identify specific recommendations for the various sections of the Report. Suggestions for each section were drafted in the form of recommendation statements by the staff,

and returned to the SCRR for vetting and revision. The re-drafted recommendations were then re-presented to the entire SCRR for a second vetting before the final version was approved or returned for further modification. The Draft Report of the SCRR, issued on May 23, 1978, consisted of 218 pages of narrative, explanation and recommendations.

5.3.3.4 Consultation Meetings - Second Round. The Draft Report was released on May 23, 1978. Over the next four and one-half months, delegations from the SCRR attended eleven school-based meetings, three city-wide meetings, and five area meetings, in addition to four meetings of the entire SCRR. The SCRR also received five presentations by various groups from within the system, thirty-one briefs from system sources, and nine briefs from community representatives (*Final Report*, pp.2,3).

The majority of comments made at city-wide and area meetings were directed at the sections of the document dealing with either the resolution of racial incidents, or strategies seeking to increase the employment of members of visible minority racial groups. Responses concerning recommendations for dealing with racial incidents in the schools almost always centered on the suggestion that discretionary powers be removed from principals and teachers.

Responses from students during meetings held in the schools tended to focus on the recommendations concerning the resolution of racial incidents, and particularly on the inclusion of possible suspension for a third offence. Many felt that such action "would be excessively severe if it were applied to all incidents regardless of severity." (Minutes, June 8, 1978, school meeting).

Several briefs were presented to the SCRR during its regular meetings. Written responses from individuals within the school system tended to be supportive of the Draft Report, and offered suggestions about how recommendations might be most effectively realized. Written responses from administrative groups and organizations, and from teacher organizations, tended to be very consistent in terms of the nature of their content - supportive of the Draft Report's intentions (d).

Accommodating responses to the Draft Report from city-wide and area meetings, presentations and briefs, the SCRR offered the following conclusions

in the Introduction to the *Final Report*, presented to the Board on October 16, 1978:

> *Whereas the bulk of the responses during the first round of consultation had come from the community, by far the majority of responses to the Draft Report came from within the system - from teachers, administrators, board departments, etc.*
>
> *Many of the respondents felt that the mandate to focus on racial bias was too narrow and that, by implication, the SCRR was sanctioning bias based on ethnicity, sex, age, physique, etc. ...We concluded that...it was important to include ethnicity as well...*
>
> *Another major concern which emerged...was that...the section on discipline related to racial incidents...(was) too prescriptive...and negated the exercise of the principal's or teacher's discretion. Many of the recommendations were amended in response to this concern.*
>
> *Recommendations pertaining to term appointments and seniority gained no support from respondents. Since the matter of term appointments was being considered by another Board committee, we withdrew the recommendations.*
>
> *Considerable disagreement was also expressed with the concept of quotas which respondents felt might be a consequence of the draft recommendations that the Board seek approval from the Human Rights Commission to initiate positive measures designed to remedy the underemployment of visible minority teachers in the system...we withdrew the recommendation* (pp. 2,3).

In his Preface to the *Final Report*, Doug Barr, Chairman of the SCRR, made the following comments:

> *The purpose of this report is to provide the Toronto Board of Education with a detailed program for stamping out racism in the Toronto school system. ...everyone in the school system must understand clearly that we condemn any expression of racial bias and that we will use all the authority we have to eliminate it. ...In our society it is not possible to legislate the way people feel and think. ...It is certainly possible to regulate behavior.*
>
> *The hope is that once people get used to the fact that racist behavior will not be tolerated, the appropriate attitude change will follow. ...We have no intention of creating the impression that violent incidents are common or widespread in our school system. They aren't. But we also have no intention of ignoring the real potential that exists for such incidents to become common. ...We are convinced that the schools have a significant role to play in helping visible minority children develop the ability face and overcome prejudice, to reject the role of victim and*

> *to challenge with confidence the notion that they have a less than equal part to play in Canadian life and institutions. ...We can do much better than issuing a call to people to be nice to each other (Final Report*, pp. i-iii).

During the life of the SCRR, contributions had been accepted from within the group, and from elements of the community served by the school system. A second round of consultation meetings served to provide material for the final set of recommendations to be submitted to the Toronto Board. The production of these recommendations is briefly described.

During the weekend meetings of September 30 - October 1, 1978, proposed alterations to the Draft Report and suggestions for new recommendations were made. The following "issue areas" were identified as outstanding and requiring consensus before the production of specific proposals began (SCRR Minutes, September 30, October 1, 1978. pp.1,2).

A. Term Appointments
B. Seniority
C. Discretion versus Participation
D. Quotas
E. Ethnic
F. Applicable to All

The content of the *Final Report* is perhaps best reflected in the nature of its recommendations. Substantive changes over the Draft Report appear under the Sections: Curriculum; Placement and Assessment; Racial Incidents; Extra-Curricular Activities; System Sensitivity; Employment and Promotion; and Other Levels of Government.

5.4 SUMMARY

On October 24, 1978, the SCRR presented the Final Report to the Board. During the previous nineteen-month period, members of the SCRR had conducted forty-five of its own meetings. Delegates had participated in an additional forty-two consultation meetings, and received eighty-two written briefs. Internal discussions concerning the problem being attended to, and possible resolution strategies, had culminated with the construction of three separate Issue Papers, used to fuel discussion and encourage solutions during

an initial consultation phase. More internal discussion had resulted in the production and distribution of a Draft Report which provided the basis for the second element of the consultation process. With the presentation of the recommendations contained in the Final Report, SCRR activities of consultation and consolidation were finally articulated in a document to the Board describing the problem and outlining how the SCRR felt the problem needed to be addressed (d).

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PART B: CONCEPTS OF RACE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION RACE RELATIONS POLICY

5.1 ORIGIN OF THE STUDY

In the course of document collection the researchers met regularly with project staff to present accounts of their work and their impressions of the documents. One impression which caught the attention of project staff was that statements about race often included references to concerns beyond the limits of race. For example, on February 26, 1981, the Board received the following report from the Race Relations Committee:

> REPORT NO. 2 OF THE RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE
>
> Monday, February 9, 1981.
>
> To the School Programs Committee,
> the Personnel and Organization Committee
> and the Board of Education:
>
> At a meeting of the above-named Committee held this day, the following members being present, viz., Trustees Endicott (Chairman), Baird, Case and Silipo; C. Lowry, K. Brathwaite, H. Lalla, R. Sarkar, L. Glait, S.W.Kooh, K. Doirson, P. Brooks, M. Godlewski, M. Nakamura and F. Stimson, it was decided to report and recommend as follows:
>
> 1. Violation of Board Policy (Referred to the Director of Education, See Page 133)
>
> On September 18, 1980, the Board adopted the following policy: "That the Toronto Board of Education will not tolerate any expressions of racial/ethnic bias, nor bias of sex or sexual orientation, in any form by its trustees, administration staff or students."
>
> Procedures have already been instituted to deal with teachers and students who violate this policy.
>
> Your Committee recommends that the Board develop procedures, if possible, to deal with Trustees who violate the above Board policy.

What did the inclusions about ethnic and sexual bias represent? How did they come about? What was their consequence? Was the policy on race

relations concerned with *race* or with general human relations? It was the feeling that to be able to answer these questions one would have to inquire into the working understanding of race that underlies the Board's policy on race relations. These question prompted the study presented in this chapter.

5.2 KEY CONCEPTS OF RACE

This section presents the significant concepts relative to race that appear in the Final Recommendations of the SCRR as adopted by the Toronto Board in 1978. The criteria for the selection of the concepts are frequency of use and semantic association with the term "race". This presentation uses excerpts and paraphrases of supporting documents interspersed with explanatory comment. A summary of each discussion is provided as a way of synthesizing the ideas expressed in the excerpts.

5.2.1 Racism

The significance of this concept begins with the Board's concern over racism and reverse racism as recorded in Board Minutes of March 16, 1976. The Board decided to establish a committee to develop definitions of the two concepts and methods of handling accusations pertaining to racism. The vagueness of the concept among the public as well as board personnel was acknowledged in John Piper's memo to Chairman, MPRC. His concluding paragraph states:

> *Dan, I didn't agree with this route (the public meeting on March 2) as I said a few weeks ago loudly and clearly. However, based on last night, I have to say I was wrong.*
>
> *I was moderately encouraged last night. I think eight Trustees took a very bold step - one that most trustees on most boards would not have taken. Eight out of eight trustees and the senior administrator together with the teachers and principals met with over sixty community representatives and on one of the most sensitive issues of our times prepared to work together towards something still vaguely defined. I would say that is a significant vote of confidence in the future.*

The tone of Piper's memo brings to the surface the fact that *racism* at this point was largely an emotional rather than a rational concept. The meeting referred to, however, seems to have attempted to develop a rational representation of

this concept. The meeting was divided into three groups for the purposes of exploring the concept and suggesting procedures for dealing with problems associated with it. As reported below, the discussion in each group was characterized by confusion and skepticism.

Confusion arose from a lack of understanding about differences in culture and difference in race. In Trustee Spencer's group, for instance, this point is recorded:

> *#15. Understands difference in culture, but not racism, Where do the native peoples belong?...*

The scope of the concept aroused skepticism. Did it have a wider meaning than offensive episodes? Could a wide perspective of racism be looked at, e.g., its relationship to unemployment, rather than use schools as scapegoats? The following report from Trustee McDowell's group sums up the common concerns of the people attending this meeting.

> *The group's major concerns were the definition of racism, the renaming of the group and whether the committee should form two separate committees to discuss "Multicultural Programs" and "Racism" separately.*
>
> *Several people spoke to the necessity of defining racism--is it just racial incidents in the schools, name calling, hiring practices? No definition suggested. Some felt that as "racism" is a negative term "race relations" would suggest a more positive approach. On a majority vote it was recommended that the name of the committee be changed to Race Relations...Others felt that we should "call a spade a spade" and admit that racism exists.*
>
> *The discussion on whether the committee should be divided into two sub-groups independently discussing "race relations' and "multiculturalism" led to a tied vote--10 voting that the committee remain as originally suggested and 10 voting for separation.*
>
> *Those who felt that multiculturalism and racism should not be separated did so on the grounds that a development of multicultural programs within the school would give a base on which to deal with racism. They felt that the question of race relations was not just a matter of dealing with racial incidents--this would lead to a witch-hunt.*
>
> *It was suggested by our speaker that "racism" should be part of the curriculum under "values education".*

The decisions arising from this meeting included a change of name for the MPRC to Race Relations and Multicultural Committee, creation of a Sub-committee for Race Relations (SCRR), and a list of priorities including the definition of racism as it relates to education. (Report #2 of the Committee on Multicultural Programs and Racism, March 16, 1977 in Board Minutes). The change of name reflects the negative connotations the term "racism" had for the public, and the listing of a definition of racism among priorities reflects the vagueness of the concept of racism mentioned in John Piper's memo to the Chairman, MPRC. Since definition became crucial at this point, the presentation will review the various definitions that the committee encountered with a view to indicating their impact on policy and their contribution to the concept of race.

5.2.2. Definitions of Racism

1. The first formal definition of racism was contained in a research proposal appended to a document prepared and presented by the Black Liaison Committee, and circulated to all members of the Board at the request of the Chairman. This information is typed on the copy received by the MPRC on March 16, 1977 and subsequently passed on to the SCRR.

The study proposed in the appendix sought to examine (a) the extent of racism, (b) the degree to which it is evidenced in the form of violence in the Metro subway, (c) the most effective use of a very small budget. It was not clear whether the proposed study was presented as a request for inquiry into the problem of racism or not. It presented racism in the following terms:

Definition:

> Racism is defined by Funk & Wagnall's as: An excessive and irrational belief in or advocacy of the superiority of a given group of people, or nation, 'on racial grounds alone; race hatred.'
>
> Racialism is defined as: "The doctrine of the preponderant influence of actual or assumed racial factors in the origin, development, and rank of various human societies; race prejudice: racism."
>
> Meaning of the term 'Racism':

> Using the above definitions it will be evident that the term 'racism' is only another way of saying 'race prejudice'.

Origins of race prejudice:

> Prejudice is defined as: "A judgement or opinion, favourable or unfavourable, formed beforehand or without due examination: mental decision based on other grounds than reason or justice: especially, a premature or adversely biased opinion. Detriment arising from a hasty and unfair judgement: injury: harm."

Following these definitions from Funk and Wagnall's, the study goes on to suggest as follows:

> Race prejudice is only one facet of many forms of prejudice - perhaps more noticeable because it is easier to identify race and colour.
>
> Race prejudice, like all other forms of prejudice, stems from ignorance and misconceptions.
>
> One only needs to study world history to realize that race prejudice has existed in some form for as long as we have a recorded history of mankind (Justin Thomas, "A Proposed Four to Six Month Study of Racism in Metro Toronto", received by MPRC on March 16, 1977).

The definition links the concepts of racism and prejudice. Its source and nature makes these concepts abstract and academic, stripped of the emotional content that characterized discussions of the problem of racism. There is little evidence that this definition had any significant impact in the evolution of the Board's policy on race relations.

2. According to the minutes of the SCRR, Dr. Daniel C. Hill and associates presented the following definition of racism:

> a. Discrimination against an individual because of his race or colour.
>
> b. Denigration of an individual based on his race or colour and having no basis in fact or science. (SCRR minutes; Thursday, May 12, 1977).

Although the adoption of a definition of racism was deemed important,

none of the definitions offered to the SCRR seems to have been considered. The Sub-Committee did decide to concern itself primarily with overt racism as it relates to visible minorities. The following is excerpted from the SCRR minutes of June 20, 1977:

5. Formation of a Definition of Racism

A. The consensus of the Sub-Committee was that the definition of racism will be formulated as its discussions and consultations continue.

B. The Sub-Committee agreed that its primary concern is overt racism as it relates to visible minorities.

3. A concise definition of *race* is contained in a journal article "The Ethnic Approach" (New Society, June 16, 1977) that was circulated among members of the SCRR on July 8, 1977. The author defined race in the following terms..."'Race" is best used to describe sets of individuals sharing common physical characteristics;...' (p.544). As the thrust of the article is the discussion of race and ethnicity, the significance of this definition will be discussed below. For the purpose of this section we should note that it offers a simple and comprehensible definition of race as opposed to racism.

4. At another meeting of the SCRR immediately prior to public area meetings, one of the committee members, Dr. Fred Case, suggested the following definition of racism:

1. Race differences are those differences which remain constant irrespective of environmental or cultural change.

2. Race relations are concerned with all aspects of communication between peoples distinguished by racial difference (Minutes of SCRR, October 26, 1977).

Of all the definitions of racism that the committee considered, Dr. Case's appears to have been most influential. It was presented verbatim to a city-wide meeting October 26, 1977, by Doug Barr, Chairman of the SCRR. At a meeting of the SCRR on March 13, 1978 the Chairman requested its inclusion in the report on Race Relations.

In the discussions and definitions of racism encountered so far, the

dominant conception of race is in terms of the permanent physical characteristics that differentiate peoples, such as colour. It is evident, however, that the scope of racism as used in the policy goes beyond the limit of "constant" characteristics. A second dimension, culture, is also suggested. In policy documents, for example, it appears in the following phrase:

"The Writing of racial/ethnic graffitti..."

This cultural dimension is dealt with in the following section.

5.2.3 Race and Ethnicity

The sources of the distinction between race and ethnicity are threefold. One source is the background papers, in particular a paper in *New Society* of June 1977, cited above. The second consists in the briefs and submissions made to the SCRR, which served as input to its draft report. The third source is the set of reactions to the draft report generated from within the school system. Most of the reactions were aimed at the letter to staff that accompanied the draft report. These sources are discussed below.

5.2.3.1 Source I. In a background paper circulated among members of the SCRR (July 9, 1977) the authors strongly criticised a report by a U.K. Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) for ignoring an important distinction between race and ethnicity. This paper was significant in three ways. First, it purported to identify an error in the UK Report that the SCRR wished to avoid making. Secondly, it dealt with, in an academic way, concepts subsuming race that the SCRR had been dealing with only nationally (e.g., racial minority and majority). Thirdly, it added another definition of race to those already familiar to the members of the SCRR. The following are excerpts from the paper:

> *#1. The new Commission for Racial Equality was officially launched this week, after a period of delay and uncertainty. We now have to wait and see what it will achieve. Its goal is to eliminate descrimination and promote racial equality. These aims are laudable but inadequate. Above all, the central concept of racial equality seems likely to by-pass the fact that we have ethnic, not just <u>racial</u>, diversity in Britain today. The minorities are not simply black or brown-skinned individuals in a white society; they possess, in each case, a distinctive <u>community</u> and <u>cultural</u> life as an integral part of their being. These different lifestyles have now become as much a focus of so-called racial tension and conflict as their colour.*

#2. Despite its importance, the report is confused and inadequate in its basic terms and concepts. It largely ignores the vital question of ethnicity in its attempt to supply an explanation of the nature of minorities and their relationships with the majority in British society. Only when this has been clarified can there be a more realistic and coherent basis for social policy.

Firstly, race must be distinguished from ethnicity. "Race" is best used to describe sets of individuals sharing common physical characteristics; "ethnicity" refers to the social group to which an individual belongs. Hence the Home Secretary was right to speak of "ethnic-minority communities" in his charge to the Commission.

A second clarification is that labels such as "black" and "white" used in the CRE report as synonymous with "ethnic minority" and "ethnic majority" respectively, are inadequate as either racial or ethnic denominators. The commission has been uncertain about what to call people and how to classify them, a confusion evident throughout its literature.

Finally it is important to clarify the difference existing between racial and ethnic categories on the one hand and ethnic groups or communities on the other. From our standpoint, "racial groups" exist only as statistical entities, not as social realities. The essential cohesive elements in any community arise from corporate developed values, skills and institutions, and from common experience. All groups, minority and majority, possess the vital ethnic dimension which combines elements of cultural autonomy with collective interests.

We agree that racial disadvantage, used in the economic sense has validity. But it is used in the report to refer not only to material disadvantages, but to all the ways in which minorities differ from those attributed to the majority. This may be convenient, but it begs all the important questions. It is quite clear that ethnic minorities differ from each other as well as from the majority, but does this necessarily indicate there is some form of deprivation.

#3. The policy makers of the Commission for Racial Equality will do well to remember that common ethnicity articulates shared concerns. Race does not do that, even if racism does.

The first excerpt draws attention to the danger of bypassing ethnic diversity in a policy on racial equality. In other words, it argues that, at least for Britain, racial diversity and ethnic diversity are significant. The similarities in the composition of the population of Britain and that of Toronto were such that this argument was not lost on the members of the SCRR.

The first excerpt also points to an inadequacy in the concept of race in

terms of permanent characteristics such as colour, a concept that emerged in the definitions of racism presented in section 2.2. The social problems the writers point to in support of an expanded conception of race were similar to events in Toronto prior to the work of the SCRR.

The second excerpt formally differentiates race and ethnicity by defining them. It points out the confusion in classifying and labelling people, problems that the SCRR itself found on many occasions. It also offers a way of looking at people as a population in terms of race and ethnicity.

The third excerpt provides a warning that the vehicles of emotional concerns tend to be ethnic rather than racial.

Thus the concepts and arguments contained in this paper were significant for the evolution of the Race Relations Policy.

5.2.3.2 Source II. Among the briefs and submissions presented to the SCRR prior to its draft report on race relations was one from Dr. F. Case of the Black Liaison Committee. It argued the need to relate ethnicity and race. The SCRR minutes of May 18, 1977 record the substance of this presentation as follows:

> 7. Presentation by the Black Liaison Committee
>
> Ms. Searles introduced Mr. F. Case from the Black Liaison Committee. In his address Mr. Case pointed out that:
>
> A - Distinction should be made between racism as it affects those with cultural and ethnic differences (Italians, Portuguese, etc.) and those ethnic groups who have physical characteristics that are distinctive and constant despite change of culture or environment.
>
> B - For many years Ontario schools were segregated; discrimination against blacks is no new problem.
>
> Mr. Case recommended that Committee members read New Newcomers by W.W. Anderson and L.R. Grant, and further suggested that:
>
> A - Hiring and promotion policies of the Board at every level be investigated.

B - Teachers be sensitized to racial and cultural differences and taught how to deal with racial incidents.

C - Teaching materials and streaming be investigated.

During debate on the recommendations taken from the briefs, race and ethnicity were discussed as follows:

> *Considerable discussion ensued at this point on the topic of separating race and culture. Dr. Case felt the focus must be racism but the word culture must appear somewhere in the report. Ms. Green felt that the report should deal with cultural overlaps in the introduction; in this way, when race and culture are combined in the recommendations at certain points, the overlap will be understood. Chairman Barr felt that the focus is racism and race relations and that aspects of culture which adds to disfunctional race relations. Cultural differences feed racial stereotypes which lead to racial prejudice.* (Minutes of SCRR, January 16, 1978).

What appears to emerge from the briefs and the SCRR's discussion of the issues of race and ethnicity is that while recognising the relationship between the two concepts, the decision was to separate the two and focus on race. It is worthy of note that (a) the mandate of this committee mentioned racism, (b) it had earlier decided to focus on overt racism. In a widely circulated letter that is excerpted immediately below, the essence of the discussion on race and ethnicity is strongly reflected.

5.2.3.3 Source III. In his message to staff on May 29, 1978, Chairman Barr wrote:

> *We draw a distinction in the report between race and culture. Race remains constant: culture changes. We are concerned in this report with relations between people of different races, between the white majority and the various 'visible minorities'* (A message to the Staff from Doug Barr, Chairman, Sub-Committee on Race Relations, Toronto Board of Education, May 29, 1978).

This statement, and the draft report to which it refers, drew a number of responses from interest groups within and outside the system. On the race/ethnic issue, the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation responded as follows:

> *We realize also the difficulties this committee has had in isolating race and ethnicity as two separate entities. We too have difficulties in*

separating these two concepts and, in fact, have found much overlap. For example, in the following quotation from the document:

> *We recommend that the total report be amended to include the concept of ethnicity. The exclusion of ethnicity is liable to instill an inverse bias throughout the system and defeat the purpose of your parent committee on multiculturalism. To prevent conflict with the ethnic groups we strongly urge that you expand your document to include all the diverse groups of Toronto's mosaic and treat all equally. We cite as an example the California lawsuit. (Response: The Draft Report On The Sub-committee on Race Relations, Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation, September 1978).*

In another response, the principals and vice-principals of Area Six expressed their primary concern as follows:

> *We feel a responsibility for all children in our schools. We feel that it is somewhat discriminatory to say that because a person is a member of a visible minority that such a person somehow has the right to "yell racist" when the report does not appear to give the same "right" to a person who happens to be in a majority group.*
>
> *In his message to the staff on May 29, 1978, Mr. Barr, the chairman of the sub-committee, gave a definition of racism. He said "We define racism as any attitudes, actions, or institutional structures that subordinate a person or group because of their race and/or colour".*
>
> *We believe this to be too narrow a definition for a Board that has pupils from dozens of different backgrounds. We would add "or ethnic background" so that we fight discrimination on all fronts and not just for those of the visible minority.*
>
> *We would question the definition of visible minority. Is it the child who is only slightly copper coloured? Is it the white child who makes up only a small percentage of the pupil population in the same school? We think the committee might fall into the same trap as the South African government and seek to define "colour" by the percentage of black blood. An impossible task!*
>
> *Therefore we say that since we are dealing with all children we must think in terms of fighting discrimination against all children ("A Reply to the Draft Report of the Sub-Committee On Race Relations From the Principals and Vice-Principals of Area Six", undated).*

In sum, the responses to the draft report considered the conception of racism along the single dimension of physical characteristics too narrow. The distinct preference was for the inclusion of the concept of ethnicity.

The concern of the principals and vice-principals of Area Six is

interesting for the following reasons. The first paragraph, while alleging an imbalance in the draft report, hints at the concept of reverse racism, a concept that is dealt with below. Secondly, it draws attention to the problem of defining visible minority, a classification problem that we were alerted to in the journal article excerpted in section 2.3.1. Finally, while it criticizes the draft report as negative in tone, it is itself negative toward the issues addressed in the report.

5.2.4 Majority and Minority

Many statements in the Final Recommendations contain the word minority in the context of visible minority and ethnic minority, as in the following:

> (7a) A reasonable knowledge and understanding of visible and ethnic minority groups.....

The use of the word minority in such context signifies a polarity in the population along two dimensions: race and culture. The relationship of these two has already been seen to have been of great import in the evolution of the Race Relations Policy.

Along the dimension of race, the majority/minority polarity separates the white majority population from the non-white minority. The latter are also referred to frequently as visible minorities. This is the sense used in the following excerpt:

> *We are concerned in this report with relations between people of different races, between the white majority and the various 'visible minorities' (Chairman's letter to staff).*

Thus colour is the dominant component of race, giving rise to the concepts of *visible majority* and *visible minority*.

Critical reactions to the majority/minority distinction on colour lines brought many fears and uncertainties to the surface. The principals and vice-principals of Area Five in their response to the draft report feared that the distinction and the focus on visible minority might cast the visible majority as "more often than not at fault" in the disadvantages of the minority.

Another interesting protest reaction was that the use of such labels was not only personally offensive but also sanctioned discrimination against peoples not considered to be a visible minority. The following excerpts argue this point:

> *It seems to me the Committee is saying that racist slurs against Jews, Italians, Poles, Newfoundlanders, etc. are acceptable because the recipients of these acts are not "visible minorities". Absolutely ridiculous!*

> *If your recommendations are approved, it seems to me that the Toronto Board will be required to establish yet another bureaucracy (probably called "Visible Minorities Race Relations Department").* (Letter to Dr. Doug Barr, Chairman SCRR, from Miss Lynette E. Roberts, June 30, 1978).)

The general reaction to the dichotomy suggests that to most respondents a concept of race developed on the basis of colour or other physical characteristics was not adequate.

Along the cultural dimension, the terms *majority* and *minority* distinguished the dominant Canadian culture from the cultures of various native and immigrant groups. As opposed to *visible minorities, ethnic minorities* includes Jews, Italians, Poles and even Blacks. No negative reactions were encountered to the term *ethnic minorities*. This could be taken as endorsement of its inclusion in a concept of race.

5.2.5 Reverse Discrimination/Reverse Racism/Negative Discrimination.

These terms are used interchangably. They tend to occur in the contexts of employment, promotion, and benefit and arise from the issues of Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action. They are used to refer to a hiring practice that purposefully or inadvertently favours classes of people, say Blacks, who would normally be discriminated against, at the expense of those who have traditionally been preferred for such treatment, say Whites.

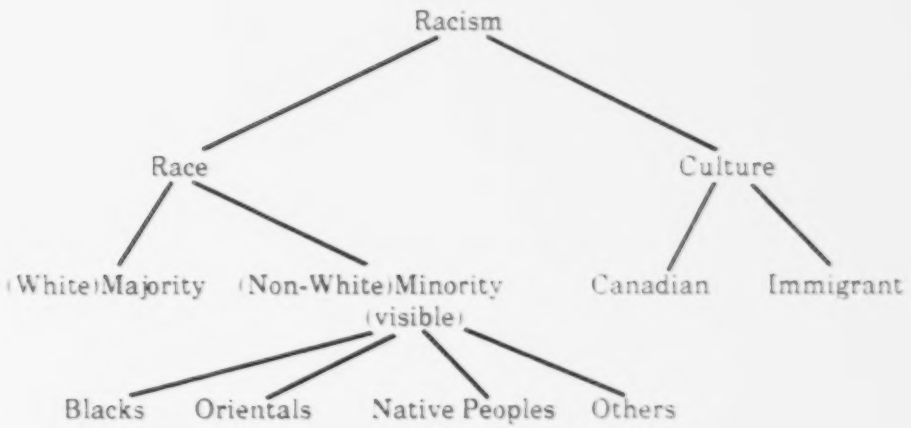
It should be remembered that at the same time as the Board was focussing on racism it was also focussing on reverse racism. (Board minutes, March 16, 1977). The Final Report presents this concept and the issues associated in the following excerpt:

The concern was not whether individuals from visible/ethnic minority groups did or did not enjoy equal access to employment and promotion opportunities in the Toronto school system. The concern was whether or not specific measures that the Board might adopt to guarantee equal access to these individuals would function in themselves to discriminate against members of the dominant majority. Without exception, this general concern developed from one of three perspectives depending on who the respondent, or respondents, were.

5.3 EMERGING CONCEPT OF RACE

In the key concepts that have been examined so far, race seems to be conceived of in two terms: physical characteristics - especially colour; and culture. These two components as conceived in the documents give rise to the more common concepts of visible minority and ethnic minority. The development of these concepts can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 1

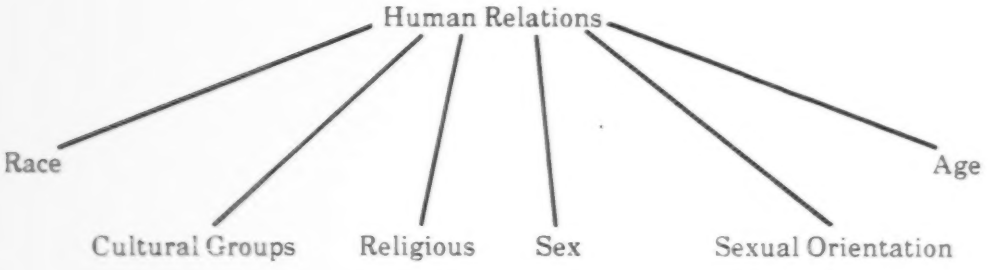


5.4 THE DIFFUSION OF THE CONCEPT OF RACE

Following the adoption of the final recommendations of the SCRR, the concept of race which we have seen develop seems to have undergone significant modification. Some of the concepts, e.g., visible minority, seem to have been expanded in order to accommodate certain significant and competing concerns. This expansion of concepts rendered less precise the concept of race with which the SCRR had ben working, and on the basis of which the final recommendations were presented to and adopted by the Board of Education.

This apparent diffusion process took two paths: one through the SCRR to the Board, the other through parallel committees to the Board. In having both paths, one finds that by including racism in legislation against discrimination of other interest groups, the lines that made racism a significant concern were obscured, and the problem of race relations became simply human relations. In terms of the concept, they subsume race relations and human relations. They are not exactly the same as a comparison of Figure 1 and Figure 2 would indicate.

Figure 2



By the end of the SCRR's deliberations on the draft report on race relations, the dominant conception of race was in terms of permanent or "constant" characteristics. Although the relationship between race and culture had been extensively discussed (see SCRR minutes of January 16, 1978), the decision was to confine attention to race as then defined. This attempt to limit the concept to "constant" characteristics as entailed in "visible minorities" was reflected in the SCRR Chairman's letter to Staff of May 29, 1978. The relevant portion is repeated here for convenience.

> *We draw a distinction in the report between race and culture. Race remains constant: culture changes. We are concerned in this report with relations between people of different races, between the white majority and the various 'visible minorities'.*
>
> *We define racism as any attitudes, actions, or institutional structures that subordinate a person or group because of their race or colour.*

Responses to the draft report that accompanied this letter criticized both documents for reasons ranging from its tone to its substance. One letter signed by Ellen McLean (no date) complained that the solutions proposed "seem to be

more for the mind than the emotions." Others found such labels as 'visible minority' offensive and unacceptable. For example --

> *As a black woman proud of her heritage I am offended by the label "visible minorities". I strongly urge that the phrase be deleted from your report. Would you like to be referred to as a "visible minority"? I, and I am sure other non-whites do not have to be constantly reminded we are visible and easy targets for discriminatory and racist acts. (Source: Letter to Mr. Doug Barr, Chairman, SCRR, from Miss Lynette E. Roberts, June 30, 1978).*

Some argued that the focus on racism, as understood in visible terms, was too narrow.

> *We recognize that the committee was given a mandate to study only black-white relations. However, it is our earnest hope that the committee will add an appendix that states that the Board abhors all forms of discrimation whether it is religious, racial, sexual or based on country of origin. It should be suggested that the recommendations of the committee be applied to all forms of discrimination not just racial. (Letter from Brockton High School, signed by O. J. Mardall, Head, Science Department).*

The impact of all the criticisms in the responses to the draft report is reflected in the tone of the *Final Report*. Page 2 responds to some of the above criticisms in the following terms.

> *...Many respondents felt that the mandate to focus on racial bias was too narrow and that, by implication, the sub-committee was sanctioning bias based on ethnicity, sex, physique, age, etc. We had attempted to place the Draft Report within the context of the Board's existing policies on multiculturalism and point to its origin both in the brief reference to racism in the Report on Multicultural Programs (1975) and in the evidently strained racial climate in the city in the months preceding the establishment of the sub-committee. However, in trying to ensure widespread consideration of the draft recommendations, we sent most teachers only the recommendations not the full text.*
>
> *We concluded that, in order to clarify the intent of the sub-committee, it was important to include specific mention of ethnic as well as race relations in the Final Report submitted to the Board, despite the fact that this has rendered many of the recommendations redundant insofar as they refer to multicultural policies and programs which were established by the Board when it passed the recommendations in the Report on Multicultural Programs in 1975. We would like, further, to affirm that we expect the spirit and intent of the recommendations on racial/ethnic relations to apply (wherever appropriate) to all forms of discrimination and prejudice.*

In the Board, concern about the high profile of the Race Relations Report led to the adoption of resolutions and strategies that effectively 'equalized' the status of race to those of other conerns and subsequently rendered inprecise the concept of race by the process of inclusion and expansion.

Concern about the high profile is recorded in Board minutes of January 17, 1980 as follows:

> *At the same time, a concern has been expressed that somehow the recommendations of the Affirmative Action Report and the concerns of the Women's Liaison Committee are not being so fully addressed as had been expected. The perception is that, somehow, the Race Relations Report acquired a higher priority in the Board's eyes than the Affirmative Action Report.*

It was stated at the same time that the Affirmative Action Report and the Report of the Women's Liaison Committee contained recommendations that offset both the curriculum and personnel policies and practices of the Board (areas that had been exhaustively treated in the Race Relations Report). This resulted in a decision that had Race Relations and Status of Women Committees separately reporting to the School Programmes Committee or the Personnel and Organization Committee. (See Figure 3).

The significance of this meeting and its decisions for the Race Relations Policy is that it marks the lowering of race relations concerns from a position of high profile to the level of competing concerns, in this case Affirmative Action and Women's Liaison Committee. The effect will take some force in the Board's resolve of April 14, 1977, as stated in the following excerpt:

> *(a) to seek representations and make recommendations concerning those specific actions which can be taken by the Board of Education and its teaching staff to combat the spread of racism in Toronto, to include representatives of the School Community Relations Department, and with power to second.*

Figure 3

Another example of the impact of the concerns of other committees of the Board upon the Race Relations Policy is recorded in Board minutes of September 18, 1980. The Board received a recommendation from the Gay/Lesbian Sub-Committee to adopt the following.

> *Be it resolved, That item 31 of the Race Relations Report be amended to read, 'that the Toronto Board of Education condemns and will not tolerate any expressions of racial/ethnic bias, nor bias on the basis of sex or sexual orientation, in any form by its trustees, administration, staff or students.*
>
> *Be it Resolved, That the sub-committee of School Programs which has been established to examine a homosexual liaison committee request a report on whether there is evidence of discrimination and prejudice against homosexuals in the system, and report to the School Programs Committee its findings together with any recommendations, prior to its deliberations on the need for any ongoing mechanism of communicatiion with the homosexual community.*

These resolutions, which were adopted, are significant in two ways. First, we see a race relations clause being modified to accommodate sex and sexual orientation, concerns normally lying beyond the scope of race. The second significant point is the role the School Programmes Committee (Figure 1) is made to play. It is to be the melting pot of the various concerns reported to it by its sub-committees.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

Part B has examined the conception of race in the Race Relations Policy of the Toronto Board of Education. The account presented is based entirely on an analysis of public documents held in the library and archives of the Toronto Board. Interest in definitions of racism and reverse racism has been shown to originate from a Board meeting of March 16, 1976. This interest led to the formation of a sub-committee to study racism within the board's jurisdiction and to make recommendations.

During the early stages of the sub-committee's deliberations, discussions about race and racism were characterized by vagueness both among the public and among Board personnel. Racism was largely an emotional rather than a rational concept. Although definitions were elusive, the sub-committee made efforts to rationalize these concepts. Two phases are distinguishable in this process, both by the stages in which they occurred and the set of terms that they introduced.

The first phase produced a concept of race based on physical and cultural characteristics. In this phase, formal definitions of race in articles, written briefs, and oral presentations featured prominently. This phase introduced concepts such as visible ethnic and reverse discrimination. The boundaries of these concepts appear to be more precise than the concepts occurring in phase two.

The second phase treats the concerns of other interest groups such as women and gay/lesbian groups, who are represented as minority. This phase included discrimination against such minorities within the scope of racism. It introduced such terms as sex and sexual orientation within the scope of racism. The effect of the inclusion of sex and sexual orientation in policy statements is that the concept of race is rendered imprecise.

Chapter 6

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RACE RELATIONS POLICY PART A: ACTIVITIES OF THE TORONTO BOARD'S RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE

6.1. INTRODUCTION

One of the assumptions of the research project described in this report is that school practitioners translate theoretical knowledge into school practices through their own practical knowledge. The example of theoretical knowledge used in this project is the Toronto Board of Education's Race Relations policy. This chapter has been written in part in an effort to understand the theoretical knowledge which school practitioners are required to apply, and thus to supply a context for their activities.

However, this theoretical knowledge is not merely a Board of Education policy document that schools are required to implement; it is both the result of long deliberations and the reflection of the continuing activity of many people. The basic policy document, *Final Report of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations* (Toronto Board of Education, 1979) is the culmination of the work of a Race Relations Committee, which has continued working in an effort to implement the policy it created.

The Race Relations Policy of the Toronto Board of Education is an effort to effect educational change. The Board deemed the eradication of racism an important educational goal. Accordingly, the policy document was drawn up, then presented to and accepted by the Board. Its commitment to this educational goal was demonstrated by establishment of a committee with the mandate of implementing the policy over a five-year period. The intention clearly was to translate policy into practice.

In his book, *The Meaning of Educational Change* (1982), Michael Fullan

describes educational change as consisting of four key phases: initiation, implementation, continuation, and outcome. He emphasizes that change is a process, not an event, and that change is not a linear process, but rather one in which the various phases continually interact and influence each other. Fullan's description provides a perspective from which to view the Toronto Board's Race Relations Policy. *The Final Report* represents the culmination of "initiation" efforts in the process of change. Chapter 5 of this report documents the work in this area. The transition from "initiation" to "implementation", implementation per se, and the interrelationship between these two phases is documented in this chapter.

There were two main data sources. First, Race Relations Committee documents -- meeting agendas and minutes, reports and other printed materials -- were analysed. Second, Committee meetings were attended and anthropological style field notes kept on them. The information gathered pertains to the Race Relations Committee's work until the end of 1983.

This chapter reports the results of this analysis. It describes the history of the Race Relations Committee, its place within the Toronto Board of Education, and its work to the end of 1983 as reflected in the motions made. It then examines the Committee's interpretation of its mandate as it reveals itself in the committee work. In Fullan's terms, the chapter first describes the final stages of the "initiation" phase, then the transition from initiation to implementation, and finally focusses on implementation per se.

6.2. DOCUMENTATION

6.2.1. History of the Race Relations Committee

The Race Relations Committee is best understood when the context out of which it arose is considered. This context was a Committee for Multiculturalism, established by the Toronto Board of Education in 1976 on the basis of recommendations made by the Work Group on Multicultural Programs, approved by the Board on March 16, 1976. The Work Group recommended that:

A committee on Multicultural Programs of the Board be established in order to (a) monitor the implementation of the recommendations of the Final Report of the Work Group on Multicultural Programs, (b) convey recommendations to appropriate agencies, and (c) consider issues relating to New Canadian students and Multicultural Programs as they arise; and that this committee have the power to appoint non-trustee members to assist in its deliberations.

In its efforts to implement the multicultural report, the Multiculturalism Committee began to highlight the need for work on race relations within the scope of multiculturalism, as the Report contained several recommendations on that subject.

Accordingly, on January 20, 1977, the Multiculturalism Committee was reconstituted to reflect this dual concern. The new terms of reference were:

1. To monitor the implementation of the recommendation of the Final Report of the Work Group on Multicultural Programs.

2. To seek representations concerning those specific actions which can be taken by the Board of Education and its teaching staff to combat the spread of racism in Toronto, to include representatives from the School-Community Relations Department, and with power to second.

Since concern about action on race relations was growing, shortly thereafter, on March 16, 1977, the Board mandated the constitution of a Sub-Committee on Race Relations (SCRR), with responsibility

To seek representation and make recommendations concerning those specific actions which can be taken by the Toronto Board of Education and its teaching staff to combat the spread of racism in Toronto.

As documented in Chapter 5, over the next twenty months the SCRR engaged in a series of activities that culminated in the presentation of 119 recommendations to the Board for approval as policy in November of 1978. The activities included the issuance of discussion papers designed to promote dialogue during consultation with community, teacher, student and other individuals and groups. In May of 1978, a Draft Report containing 159 proposed recommendations "for combatting racism in every sphere of our enterprise" was produced and widely distributed. A second round of consultation was completed during late spring and early fall of 1978, and the

Final Report presented to the Board in October of that year. During November and December 1978 the Report was considered and approved.

The Race Relations Committee was therefore originally a task group, known as the SCRR, set up under the aegis of the Multiculturalism Committee. Its function was to investigate a particular situation which the Board deemed important and relevant to its responsibilities.

6.2.2. Place of the Race Relations Committee Within the Toronto Board

After the SCRR, in its capacity as a task group, had its Final Report accepted by the Board, it took on the function of monitoring the implementation of the recommendations set out in the report it had produced.

In a memo to the SCRR dated February 2, 1981, Mel LaFontaine documents the transition of the SCRR from a task force to the "monitoring" Committee of the Multiculturalism & Race Relations Committee to a separate Race Relations Committee. This memo is presented in the Race Relations Sub-Committee agenda of February 9, 1981. The following is extracted from this communication and explains the SCRR's place within the Board structure.

On November 23, 1978 the Board approved the following "no number" recommendation which appeared as the last item of the *Final Report of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations*

> *The outgoing Board (1978) recommended to the incoming Board (1979) that the Sub-Committee on Race Relations, of the parent Committee on Race Relations and Multiculturalism, be reconstituted to monitor the implementation of this Final Report of the Sub-Committee.*

Subsequently, on December 4th, 1978 the Board approved the following motion to refer the recommendation as adopted by the Board:

> *Trustee Rutledge, seconded by Trustee Fitzpatrick, moved that the recommendation of the 1978 Board be referred to the Committee on Race Relations and Multiculturalism for consideration at its first meeting. The motion was carried.*

On March 26, 1979 the Board adopted the recommendation of the Race Relations and Multiculturalism Committee as presented and approved by the School-Programs Committee on February 27th, 1979.

The recommendation was that:

a. The Sub-Committee on Race Relations be reconstituted to monitor the implementation of the Final Report of the Sub-Committee

b. Membership of the Sub-Committee be the same as in 1978, as follows:
4 Trustees
1 Elementary Teachers' Federation Representative
1 Secondary Teachers' Federation Representative
2 Principals' Association representatives (1 elementary, 1 secondary)
Liaison Committee representatives
One representative each from:
Ontario Human Rights Commission
Urban Alliance on Race Relations
A Students' Council

c. and that invitations be sent to those listed in (b) above.

At its meeting of January 7, 1980 the Board approved the Director of Education's recommendation of committees to be continued for the year 1980. Item 10 on the approved list names the Multicultural Committee (reporting to the School Programs Committee), and item 17 names the Race Relations Committee (reporting to the School Programs Committee and to the Personnel and Organization Committee). The following excerpt from the Director's report to the Board (January 17, 1980) provides the rationale for the establishment of two separate committees:

Discussions have been held with the Chairman of the Race Relations and Multicultural Committee and the Chairman of the Race Relations Sub-Committee. There is an ongoing need for a Committee on Multiculturalism to respond to and coordinate the various thrusts undertaken by both the Provincial Government and the Federal Government in this area, as well as responding to general needs or concerns that arise from within the system.

The Sub-Committee on Race Relations, which presently reports to the Race Relations and Multiculturalism Committee, has as its chief responsibility the monitoring of the recommendations of the Race Relations Report. At present, its reporting process is cumbersome, since its recommendations must go through the Race Relations and Multiculturalism Committee prior to reporting to one of the standing committees of the Board. This often produces a one round delay in dealing with those recommendations.

6.2.3. The Race Relations Committee as Policy Implementors

The previous section outlines the transition of the Toronto Board's Race Relations Policy from a document formally adopted by the Board to one that is to be put into practice. The agents for the policy are the members of the Race Relations Committee. Study of the implementation of this policy therefore entails a study of this Committee.

At the Race Relations Forum in June 1982, Doug Barr, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations during the policy development phase, likened the policy to a baby given up for adoption; now, two years later, he was observing the results of the baby's upbringing. In a sense, the Race Relations Committee does function as a parent: it takes a newborn and fosters its growth, shapes it, and prepares it for a mature and independent existence. What enters into the world (in this case, the school system) as "race relations policy" is the product of the Committee's "parenting". By examining the Committee's work, we can gain an insight into what sort of "mature individual" (or ultimate relations among the races) the Committee wishes to cultivate.

For the purposes of this chapter, Committee "work" is taken to mean what the Committee does in its meetings, and all the data considered are connected with the meetings. (A chronology of all the independent Race Relations Committee meetings is presented in Table 1; meetings held jointly with other committees are excluded.)

The activities that take place at these meetings can be grouped into three main categories. First, issues pertaining to race relations in the Toronto Board school system are examined, discussed, and debated. Second, recommendations for handling issues are made. Finally, formal motions are made. These types of activity represent three levels of tangibility, discussion being in the realm of abstraction, formal motions in the realm of concreteness, and recommendations falling in between.

In the following section the motions of the Committee will be presented and discussed. Inasmuch as motions represent the most concrete documentation of committee work, they will serve as the entry point into the

subsequent interpretation of the committee's work. Recommendations and discussion will be drawn upon as ancillary documentation.

In a written communication to the members of the Race Relations Committee dated January 16, 1980, and contained in the February 5, 1980 agenda, (pp. 25-6) of that same Committee, Frank Nagle defined "quorum" in the following manner:

> *...a Board Committee as opposed to a work Group or Task Force (which we were from 1976-1978) has what is known as a quorum; i.e., a majority of the members constituting any Committee shall be a quorum. Most Committees are comprised solely of members of the Toronto Board of Education. The Race Relations Committee, however, is composed of the following constituencies - four trustees and one representative of the following:*
>
> Toronto Teachers Federation
> Secondary School Teachers' Federation
> Elementary School Principals' Association
> Korean Education Society
> South Asian Origins Liaison Committee
> Black Liaison Committee
> Ad Hoc Cross-Cultural Communication Committee
> Urban Alliance on Race Relations
> Ontario Human Rights Commission
> Toronto Board of Education's Secondary School Students

Therefore, quorum for our Committee is considered to be 8 of 15 members.

> *...unless there be a quorum present within fifteen minutes after the time appointed for any Committee meeting,... the Committee shall stand adjourned. (By-laws and regulations Toronto Board of Education)*

Table 1: CHRONOLOGY OF REGULAR MEETINGS OF THE RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE AFTER PRODUCTION OF THE FINAL REPORT ON RACE RELATIONS IN 1978

	DATE	CHAIRPERSON	QUORUM* YES/NO
1979	July 24, 1979	Frank Nagle	Yes
	October 25, 1979	Frank Nagle	Yes
	December 19, 1979	Frank Nagle	No
1980	February 5, 1980	Frank Nagle	Yes
	February 26, 1980	Frank Nagle	Yes
	March 27, 1980	Frank Nagle	No
	April 15, 1980	Frank Nagle	Yes
	May 7, 1980	Frank Nagle	No
	May 22, 1980	Frank Nagle	Yes
	September 16, 1980	Frank Nagle	Yes
	October 2, 1980	Frank Nagle	Yes
	October 29, 1980	Frank Nagle	Yes
	November 18, 1980	Frank Nagle	Yes
1981	January 19, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes
	February 9, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes
	March 17, 1981	Fran Endicott	No
	April 13, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes
	April 29, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes
	May 20, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes
	June 10, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes
	September 15, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes
	November 4, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes
	December 2, 1981	Fran Endicott	Yes

Table 1, continued

	DATE	CHAIRPERSON	QUORUM* YES/NO
1982	January 19, 1982	Fran Endicott	Yes
	February 17, 1982	Fran Endicott	Yes
	March 10, 1982	Fran Endicott	Yes
	April 15, 1982	Fran Endictot	Yes
	May 4, 1982	Fran Endicott	Yes
	June 14, 1982	Fran Endicott	Yes
	September 21, 1982	Fran Endicott	No
	October 12, 1982	Fran Endicott	No
1983	February 3, 1983	Bob Spencer	Yes
	March 14, 1983	Bob Spencer	Yes
	April 13, 1983	Bob Spencer	Yes
	May 24, 1983	Bob Spencer	Yes
	September 21, 1983	Bob Spencer	Yes
	October 26, 1983	Bob Spencer	Yes
	November 30, 1983	Bob Spencer	No
	December 5, 1983	Bob Spencer	Yes
	December 14, 1983	Bob Spencer	Yes

* *Quorum*

6.2.4. The Work of the Race Relations Committee as Reflected in its Motions

In this section the motions of the Race Relations Committee are documented in depth as a record of the Committee's concrete work. Motions made in meetings held jointly with other committees, (e.g., Multiculturalism Committee) have not been considered. All of the Race Relations Committee's minutes to the end of 1983 were examined and the motions extracted. These are presented in chronological order in Table 2. With the exception of motions for acceptance of minutes from previous meetings and motions for adjournment, all motions have been included.

In this inventory, each motion has been classified according to the following ten categories of "pertinence":

1. Curriculum
2. Placement and Assessment
3. Racial Incidents in the Schools
4. Extra-Curricular Activities
5. System Sensitivity and In-Service Opportunities
6. Employment and Promotion
7. Equal Opportunity Programming
8. Responsibilities of other Levels of Government
9. Public Relations
10. Internal Administration

The first eight categories correspond directly to the categories into which the 119 recommendations for eradicating racism were grouped in the Race Relations Report itself (*Final Report of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations, Toronto Board of Education, 1979*). The classification of the Committee's motions into these categories was therefore intended to show what sort of work the Committee was doing in terms of implementing the various groups of recommendations.

Some motions were directly pertinent to a particular topic. For example,

on April 15, 1982, the Committee made motions to withdraw certain textbooks from school curricula on the grounds that these books were biased. Those motions were therefore classified as being pertinent to "Curriculum". Other motions, however, were only indirectly pertinent to a particular area. On May 20, 1981, for example, the Committee moved to refer a report on music texts to the Performing Arts Workshop. This was an administrative matter, but because it dealt indirectly with a curricular matter, it was included in the "Curriculum" grouping. This rationale of including motions both directly and indirectly relevant to a given policy area was used throughout the process of categorizing.

Nevertheless, not all motions could be grouped into the first eight categories. Since a "miscellaneous" category is so vague as to be ineffectual, the more precise last two categories were created to accommodate those "other" motions.

The "Public Relations" category refers to work which the Committee did outside the Toronto Board to make the Race Relations policy known, but which cannot be related to any of the 119 recommendations. For example, the Committee's letter to the Metropolitan Toronto Police reproaching the raids on the gay baths (Feb. 9, 1981), the letter of support to Amnesty International (Jan. 19, 1982), or the decision to consult with the Metro Separate School Board on their Race Relations policy (May 24, 1983) were all viewed as "Public Relations" efforts.

Finally, the "Internal Administration" category embraces all those motions that deal with the actual operating of the Race Relations Committee itself, and that have no bearing on any of the recommendations. On Feb. 3, 1983, for instance, the Committee decided to develop a proposal in which the consequences, for the Race Relations Committee, of merging Race Relations and Multiculturalism are considered. This is an administrative item pertinent to the functioning of the Committee. Similarly, receipt of a Race Relations implementation plan would fall under the "Internal Administration" category.

Following the chronological listing of all motions made in the Race Relations Committee, a summary of the motions is presented in Table 3. Here the motions made in each of the ten categories are enumerated both on a year-

by-year and total basis. The percentage of motions made in the various areas, per year and overall, is also listed. This summary table is intended to provide an overview of the work, in terms of motions, carried out by the Race Relations Committee in the various areas. It depicts, in a quantitative sense, where the Committee has focussed its implementation efforts. This tabulation reveals the following hierarchy of importance:

1. Curriculum
2. Internal Administration
3. System Sensitivity and In-Service Opportunities
4. Employment and Promotion
5. Placement and Assessment
6. Public Relations
7. Racial Incidents in the Schools
8. Extra-Curricular Activities
9. Responsibilities of other Levels of Government
10. Equal Opportunity Programming

Table 2: INVENTORY OF MOTIONS CARRIED IN RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Oct. 25, 1979	A request to be made to Director of Education to hold race relations workshops in each school and Board Department to discuss the Race Relations Report; to suggest possibility of producing an audio-visual package for same purpose.	System Sensitivity
Oct. 25, 1979	A request to be made to Director to propose plan for directions & strategies for making Race Relations Report implementation successful; e.g., hiring of personnel.	Internal Administration
Oct. 25, 1979	Request for continued work of Awareness Workshop Co-ordinating Committee, and for SCRR representation on same.	Internal Administration
Oct. 25, 1979	Receipt of report on implementing System Sensitivity & In-Service Opportunities recommendations.	System Sensitivity
Feb. 5, 1980	Receipt of correspondence from various government agencies.	Responsibilities of other Levels of Government
Feb. 5, 1980	Receipt of correspondence between Director of Education and Minister of Education concerning funding for implementation of Race Relations Report.	Curriculum

Table 2,continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Feb. 5,1980	Receipt of correspondence from Chairman of Committee concerning the definition of quorum	Internal Administration
Feb. 5, 1980	Receipt of correspondence from Urban Alliance concerning a public meeting to be held at OISE	Internal Administration
Feb. 5, 1980	Amendment to Annual Report of Equal Opportunity officer on awareness workshops.	System Sensitivity
Feb. 5, 1980	Request to Employment & Appeals Committee to proceed with resolution of its cases	Internal Administration
Feb. 5, 1980	Re: Survey Form sent by Equal Opportunity Officer to all teachers and to which there was only 25% response; - the form to be revised - something to be done to compel teachers to respond.	Employment & Promotions
Feb. 5, 1980	The Board support Black Parents' Convention in a number of ways: financing & organization	Public Relations
Feb. 5, 1980	Budget for 1980 System Sensitivity program to be prepared; inclusion of curriculum initiatives	System Sensitivity

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Feb. 26, 1980	Specification of membership and number of meetings of Equal Opportunity Reference Group	Internal Administration
Feb. 26, 1980	Discussion of Recommendations 4 & 5 by Equal Opportunity officer to be deferred to next meeting.	Internal Administration
Feb. 26, 1980	"System Resource Model" budget to be adopted: four (4) full-time resource people to be hired to conduct awareness workshops.	System Sensitivity
Feb. 26, 1980	That an information package giving\System outline for two staff meetings be prepared in amount of $960.00.	Sensitivity
Feb. 26, 1980	That a slide-tape production providing information on Race Relations program be prepared for $1800.00. Committee to be set up to work on this.	System Sensitivity
Feb. 28, 1980	That an up-to-date description of Board's progress in implementing Race Relations Policy be prepared.	Internal Administration
Feb. 26, 1980	To send out modified employee survey form, with instructions & request for return by May 1980.	Employment & Promotion
Feb. 26, 1980	To defer discussion of affirmative action plans until further information from Board has been received.	Internal Administration

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Feb. 26, 1980	To provide committee with up-to-date guidelines of the Employment & Promotions Appeals Committee.	Employment & Promotion
April 15, 1980	To organize the Equal Opportunity office according to recommendations contained in Director of Education's report.	Internal Administration
April 15, 1980	To defer discussion of report from officials on Affirmative Action related Recommendations.	Internal Administration
May 22, 1980	Receipt of correspondence from Ontario Press Council concerning recommendations of Race Relations Report.	Responsibilities of other Levels of Government
May 22, 1980	Receipt of correspondence from Urban Alliance urging setting into operation of Employment and Promotions Appeals Committee.	Employment and Promotion
May 22, 1980	To request Director of Education to prepare report on Recommendations 97-99 by June 1980 and to notify persons with appeals pending of the status of Appeals Committee.	Employment and Promotion
May 22, 1980	Sub-committee be struck to deal with making up the sound/slide presentation (see Feb. 26/80).	System Sensitivity

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
May 22, 1980	A proposal for criteria and qualifications for the newly created position "Advisor for Race Relations".	Internal Administration
May 22, 1980	A Commitment to implementing immediate "crisis" prevention strategies.	Racial Incidents in the Schools
Sept. 16, 198	A request to inform the Collective Agreement and Policies Committee of the guidelines laid out for the newly established Employment & Promotion Fair Practices Advisory Committee	Employment & Promotion
Sept. 16, 1980	Acceptance and amendment of the guidelines for the proposed Promotion and Appeals Committee.	Employment & Promotion
Sept. 16, 1980	Reaffirmation of Recommendation 97 in the Final Report	Employment & Promotion
Sept. 16, 1980	Revision of Sound/Slide Presentation on Race Relations proposal.	System Sensitivity
Oct. 2, 1980	Race Relations Advisor to consult with Information and Publications Dept. to find appropriate means of disseminating information about implementation of the Race Relations Report to community and Board Liaison Committees.	Public Relations

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Oct. 2, 1980	Director of Education to report on feasibility of designating several elementary and secondary schools as "human rights leadership schools."	System Sensitivity
Oct. 29, 1980	To seek information on library materials selection.	Curriculum
Oct. 29, 1980	Receipt of Race Relations Advisor's plan for system sensitivity and in-service opportunities.	System Sensitivity
Oct. 29, 1980	Consultation with Ministry re: "Draft Manuscript from Committee to Prepare Guidelines to Avoid Bias and Prejudice in Learning Materials".	Curriculum
Oct. 29, 1980	Receipt of Grade Nine Student Survey form.	Placement & Assessment
Oct. 29, 1980	Receipt of Human Rights Commission correspondence concerning guidance on system survey.	Employment & Promotion
Oct. 29, 1980	Authority granted to Race Relations Advisor to develop an information sheet on the Race Relations Report for parents, community & schools.	Public Relations

Table 2, continued

DATE	*MOTION*	*PERTINENCE*
Nov. 18, 1980	Receipt of report on Students Leadership Seminars on Multi-culturalism and Race Relations, with minor amendments.	Extra-Curricular Activities
Nov. 18, 1980	Letter of commendation to be sent to social workers for developing report on crisis intervention teams.	Racial Incidents in the Schools.
Nov. 18, 1980	Approval of Race Relations Advisor's draft fact sheet, "Where We Stand On Race Relations", with minor changes.	Public Relations
Jan. 19, 1981	Follow-up on schools that have not replied to survey from Social Studies Dept. re: their efforts to include local minority topics into curriculum.	Curriculum
Jan. 19, 1981	That reviews of texts and materials be sent to committee members on a rotating basis and they report to committee.	Curriculum
Jan. 19, 1981	Approval of mandate, terms of reference, and working arrangements of Race Relations committee as previously established.	Internal Administration
Jan. 19, 1981	Appointment of Trustee Endicott as chairperson.	Internal Administration
Feb. 9, 1981	Representatives from Ministry be consulted about dealing with textbook bias.	Curriculum

Table 2, continued

DATE	*MOTION*	*PERTINENCE*
Feb. 9, 1981	That a group be established to work on Board policy statement on equality in education.	Placement and Assessment
Feb. 9, 1981	That procedures be developed at Board level for dealing with trustees who violate Board policy in expressing bias.	Racial Incidents in the Schools
Feb. 9, 1981	To write letter of reproach to Police about violence in raids on gay baths.	Public Relations
Feb. 9, 1981	Re-approval of Rec. #31 and condoning Board's policy of including sexual orientation in "bias".	Racial Incidents in the Schools.
Feb. 9, 1981	Receipt of correspondence from Mme. Gilchrist & Trustee Vanstone.	Racial Incidents in the Schools
April 13, 1981	Request for support document to be prepared as an accompaniment to slide/ tape show on History of the Chinese in Canada.	Curriculum
May 20, 1981	That Curriculum Division be asked to report to SCRR on initiatives taken in implementing curriculum review recommendations in the schools - in all areas.	Curriculum
May 20, 1981	That report on music books be referred to Performing Arts workgroup.	Curriculum

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
May 20, 1981	Music Dept. be encouraged to produce supplementary curriculum materials; other departments as well.	Curriculum
May 20, 1981	Status of Women Committee be requested to look at the placement of female students in technical education.	Placement & Assessment
May 20, 1981	Report from Tech. Ed. be submitted to Tech. Ed. Work Group.	Curriculum
June 10, 1981	To write letters to Ontario Premier Bill Davis and politicians urging public hearings on Bill 68; Police Complaints Bill.	Public Relations
June 10, 1981	Endorsement of proposal for Riverdale Action committee against racism (in principle) referred to Board of Education, and that a report be requested.	Curriculum
June 10, 1981	Thanks be sent to the Race Relations Committee at Riverdale for work done on questionnaire there.	System Sensitivity
June 10, 1981	Letter to be written to Ontario Public School Mens Teachers' Federation re: article on in the Schools relationship between I.Q. and race.	Racial Incidents

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
June 10, 1981	Approval of project proposal for Human Rights Leadership Schools beginning in Sept. 1981.	System Sensitivity
Sept. 15, 1981	To write letter of support for Black Theatre Canada's work to Ministry of Education - proposal be given to Board and to Performing Arts workgroups.	Curriculum
Nov. 4, 1981	Request for Toronto Board of Education to sanction and continue the residential camps for multi-culturalism and race relations, and that there be increased funding for such camps.	Extra-Curricular Activities
Nov. 4, 1981	To find out where money can be obtained for residential camps on multi-culturalism and race relations for senior public level, and to design a program suitable for that level.	Extra Curricular Activities
Nov. 4, 1981	That no "meetings" be held on days recognized as religious holidays by Toronto Board of Education.	Internal Administration
Nov. 4, 1981	To conduct survey of visible minority employees according to categories given, with addition of category: "unspecified, others".	Employment & Promotion
Nov. 4, 1981	To investigate occasional staff in similar way.	Employment & Promotion

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Nov. 4, 1981	To have Every Student Survey available for scrutiny next meeting.	Placement & Assessment
Nov. 4, 1981	All those involved in developing recent curriculum materials be commended by letter.	Curriculum
Nov. 4, 1981	To review standard procedure #34 which deals with movement of students from elementary to senior level: information for parents.	Placement & Assessment
Dec. 2, 1981	The Research Department is to develop a table which correlates students' time of arrival in Canada with country of birth (re: Grade Nine Student Survey)	Placement & Assessment
Dec. 2, 1981	The Research Department is to provide data on the number of students by level and race or ethnic background on a school-by-school basis, both feeder and secondary.	Placement & Assessment
Dec. 2, 1981	Members of Committee are to take Grade Nine Student Survey Report to their constituencies for further study with purpose of establishing a reference group meeting.	Placement & Assessment
Dec. 2, 1981	Receipt of Grade Nine students Survey Report, to be distributed to all schools within Toronto Board.	System Sensitivity

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Jan. 19, 1982	To approve in principle Ph.D. research proposal from student at York, with amendments suggested.	Racial Incidents in the Schools
Jan. 19, 1982	To amend above research proposal such that a parental consent letter be drafted and returned to Committee for approval.	Racial Incidents in the Schools
Jan. 19, 1982	Two student leadership seminars on multiculturalism and race relations are to be held in 1982 for secondary schools.	Extra-Curricular Activities
Jan. 19, 1982	$25,000 is to be set aside for Leadership seminars in 1982 from Race Relations budget.	Extra-Curricular Activities
Jan. 19, 1982	$20,000 is to be approved for expenses involved in Human Rights Leadership Schools project.	System Sensitivity
Jan. 19, 1982	The two schools designated as Human Rights Leadership Schools are to submit an evaluative report to Race Relations Committee & School Programs Committee in May, 1982.	System Sensitivity
Jan. 19, 1982	Receipt of the report of the Director of Research on the Grade Nine Every Student Survey.	Placement and Assessment

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Jan. 19, 1982	That Toronto Board of Education support work of Amnesty International.	Public Relations
Jan. 19, 1982	Receipt of the report of the Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum on bias in textbooks.	Curriculum
Jan. 19, 1982	Receipt of report on certification of Heritage Languages Programs.	Curriculum
Feb. 17, 1982	Request for report from Director of Education on present procedure for purchasing new books & series of books to avoid purchase of biassed material.	Curriculum
March 10, 1982	Testing, diagnostic & curriculum materials & procedures in Special Education to be reviewed for bias, and documents to be prepared.	Placement and Assessment
March 10, 1982	Meeting to be set up for dealing with methods of eliminating bias in tests in Special Education.	Placement and Assessment
March 10, 1982	Modern Languages Department is to prepare a teacher guide to accompany French text which makes constructive use of text bias possible.	Curriculum

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
March 10, 1982	An information sheet is to be prepared for parents on how racial incidents can be handled.	Racial Incidents in the Schools
March 10, 1982	Letter to be sent to planning committee of Parents' Convention informing them that their resolutions have been received and that Race Relations Committee is responding.	Internal Administration
April 15, 1982	Receipt of the report of the Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum on present procedure for purchasing new books.	Curriculum
April 15, 1982	A review of Grade 13 history texts, given to the Committee by the representative from the Native Centre, be considered for staff comment.	Curriculum
Apr. 15, 1982	French text "Contes Verts" be removed from the Board and from Ministry list of authorized books.	Curriculum
Apr. 15, 1982	Removal of book called "Cannonball Simp", and request that Race Relations Advisor and Chairperson of the Committee discuss with library reps the rationale behind request for removal of "Cannonball Simp".	Curriculum

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Apr. 15, 1982	That Committee be struck to discuss why visible minorities are not involved in alternative schools.	Placement and Assessment
Apr. 15, 1982	The Refugee Kit is not to be circulated in Toronto Board schools until offending material has been revised or omitted.	Curriculum
Apr. 15, 1982	Letters to be sent to Refugee Kit producers expressing concerns of Race Relations Committee.	Curriculum
June 14, 1982	That Director of Education report on feasibility of continuing Ryerson as Human Rights Leadership School in 82/83.	System Sensitivity
June 14, 1982	The Leadership Schools project is to be based on suggestions in the project report, and a mechanism for evaluation is to be included.	System Sensitivity
June 14, 1982	The Leadership Schools report is to be communicated throughout the schools and to Inner City committee.	System Sensitivity
June 14, 1982	Receipt of survey of Visible Minority Employees	Employment & Promotions
June 14, 1982	Forum to be held in Fall/182 re. survey of Visible Minority Employees.	Employment & Promotions

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
June 14, 1982	Letter to be written to Ministry of Education re. concerns of SCRR about Bill #127.	Public Relations
Feb. 3, 1983	Nomination of Trustee Spencer as Chairperson.	Internal Administration
Feb. 3, 1983	Written proposal to be developed on outlining options for Committee if Race Relations and Multiculturalism are amalgamated.	Internal Administration
Feb. 3, 1983	Receipt of correspondence from Trustee Harshaw and Trustee Crewe	Curriculum
Feb. 3, 1983	Request for meeting with Argentina Association re. renaming of Argentina School & for letter to be sent to Board expressing disapproval of such renaming.	Racial Incidents in the Schools
Feb. 3, 1983	Adoption of recommendations in Director's Report on Employment Programs.	Employment & Promotion
Feb. 3, 1983	Request that Director of Research develop proposal for tracking Grade Nine students to determine number & level of credits obtained.	Placement and Assessment
Feb. 3, 1983	Receipt of Reports #164 & 165 & referral to Liaison Committee.	Placement and Assessment

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Feb. 3, 1983	Endorsement of response from Race Relations Committee to Children's Aid Society re Task Force Report on Multi-cultural Programs.	Public Relations
Feb. 3, 1983	A response to CEA on its Booklet on Race Relations be prepared.	Public Relations
March 14, 1983	Endorsement of the concept of the "Fighting Racism Day on Sunday, March 20, 1983" and of the exchange of views to take place there.	Public Relations
March 14, 1983	Referral of complaint about unfair hiring practices to Employment Practices Sub-Committee request for report from Director of Education on similar cases over past two years; and consideration of printing hiring appeal procedures on back of application forms.	Employment & Promotion
March 14, 1983	Decision that Multiculturalism Sub-Committee is no longer necessary.	Internal Administration
March 14, 1983	Issues concerning multiculturalism are to be referred directly to School Programs or Race Relations.	Internal Administration
March 14, 1983	Acceptance of Committee priorities as per report of the February 23, 1983 workshop.	Internal Administration

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
March 14, 1983	Next committee meeting is to devote majority of its time to the R.O.S.E. Report.	Internal Administration
April 13, 1983	The work of the "Facing History and Ourselves Resource Centre" in Brookline, Mass. is to be supported in principle.	Curriculum
April 13, 1983	The Director of Education is to investigate & report in May on possible modes of obtaining funding for teachers interested in participating in workshops held by Facing History and Ourselves Resource Centre.	In-Service Opportunities
April 13, 1983	A letter be drafted by the chairman of Committee to be sent to all Board-affiliated organizations to outline concerns the Committee has concerning the R.O.S.E. Report.	Public Relations
April 13, 1983	Report of the Director of Education to be requested on ways in which library purchases could more closely reflect the multicultural reality of the school population, including the possibility of an incentive program.	Curriculum
April 13, 1983	Receipt of Race Relations 1983-8 Implementation Plan.	Internal Administration

Table 2, continued

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
May 24, 1983	A letter to be written to the Casting Director of the film: "The Terry Fox Story" expressing the Committee's anger over his wanting only white Canadians from Central Tech's track team for his movie; the feasibility of referring the incident to the Human Rights Commission be investigated.	Racial Incidents in the Schools
May 24, 1983	Draft of response to the Metropolitan Separate School Board's Race Relations and Multicultural Policy be approved, with editorial changes.	Public Relations
May 24, 1983	The tracking of Grade Nine students to proceed in manner outlined in the report received by the Committee.	Placement & Assessment
May 24, 1983	Receipt of report on hiring appeal proceedings of an applicant for teaching position in Toronto Board.	Employment & Promotion
May 24, 1983	Receipt of report on teaching of the Holocaust.	Curriculum
May 24, 1983	Token of appreciation to be sent to Committee's Representative from the Ontario Human Rights Commission, who is ill.	Internal Administration

Table 2, concluded

DATE	MOTION	PERTINENCE
Sept. 21, 1983	A writing group be appointed by the Director of Education to prepare a brief for submission to the Special Parliamentary committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society. Size of group, membership, and deadline for brief specified.	Public Relations
Sept. 21, 1983	The team of people who worked on the resource binder "It All Adds Up" to be commended for their work.	Curriculum
Sept. 21, 1983	$2,000. to be made available in 1983 budget for completion of Korean Resource catalogue.	Curriculum
Oct. 26, 1983	A one-day conference on Apartheid for high school students to be endorsed in principle, and staff, Race Relations Advisor, and Social Studies Division to meet with representatives from the organization "Canadians Concerned about South Africa" to develop a detailed proposal for this conference.	Extra-Curricular Activities
Dec. 5, 1983	The recommendations contained in Tentative Report No. 4 of the Race Relations Committee to be adopted.	Internal Administration
Dec. 14, 1983	The conference proposed by Canadians Concerned About South Africa to be held in April 1984, with $1500. from Race Relations budget, and with a request for report to be submitted to Race Relations Committee in May 1984.	Extra-Curricular Activities

Table 3

SUMMARY OF MOTIONS MADE BY THE RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE
TO END OF 1983
BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE

FIELD TO WHICH MOTION IS PERTINENT	1979 NO.	%	1980 NO.	%	1981 NO.	%	1982 NO.	%	1983 NO.	%	GRAND TOTAL NO. (over 5 yr.)	% (over 5 yr.)
1. Curriculum	--	--	3	7.0	11	32.0	10	36.0	6	19.0	30	22.0
2. Placement and Assessment	--	--	1	2.5	7	20.0	4	14.0	3	9.5	15	11.0
3. Racial Incidents in the Schools	--	--	2	5.0	4	12.0	2	7.0	2	6.0	10	7.0
4. Extra-Curricular Activities	--	--	1	2.5	2	6.0	2	7.0	2	6.0	7	5.0
5. System Sensitivity & In-Service Opportunities	2	50.0	9	22.0	3	9.0	5	18.0	1	3.0	20	14.0
6. Employment & Promotion	--	--	9	22.0	2	6.0	2	7.0	3	9.5	16	11.5
7. Equal Opportunity Programming	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0.0
8. Responsibilities of other Levels of Government	--	--	2	5.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	1.5
9. Public Relations	--	--	4	10.0	2	6.0	2	7.0	6	19.0	14	10.0
10. Internal Administration	2	50.0	10	24.0	3	9.0	1	4.0	9	28.0	25	18.0
TOTAL MOTIONS	4	100%	41	100%	34	100%	28	100%	32	100%	139	100%

6.3. AN INTERPRETATION OF THE WORK OF THE RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE AS POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AGENTS

6.3.1. Nature of Educational Change

In *The Meaning of Educational Change* (1982), Fullan discusses implementation in the light of the general process of change. This discussion provides a useful context for interpreting the work of the Race Relations Committee. Fullan suggests that change can be conceived in a technical way, but argues that this is a simplistic and narrow point of view which is inadequate for effecting change. When change is approached from a technical perspective, implementation is seen simply as the putting into practice of predefined policy. This technical approach is criticized as ineffective in bringing about long-term change.

Fullan argues that change is not a simple, technical procedure, but rather a complex, multi-level social process involving thousands of people (p.54). To effect change therefore entails manipulating the social order. Accordingly, "implementation, whether it is voluntary or imposed, is none other than a process of *resocialization"* (p. 67).

When change, and consequently implementation, is conceived as a social process, human beings take on a role of central importance; change involves dealing with the relation of every individual to it. The meaning held by each individual with respect to a proposed change is the central issue in bringing it about.

> *...change involves the development of meaning in relation to a new idea, program, or set of activities. But it is individuals who have to develop new meaning, and these individuals are insignificant parts of a gigantic, loosely organized, complex, messy social system which contains myriad different subjective worlds.* (Fullan, pp. 78-79).

In accordance with this view, effective change takes place when individuals develop meaning in relation to proposed change. Developing meaning entails resocialization, which is basically a process of teaching and learning. Effecting, or "implementing" change is therefore an educational matter. However, the education of individuals must itself occur in a meaningful, and not technical way.

> *...skill-specific training by itself has only a transient effect because the use of new materials and methods is often mechanical without the underlying ideas becoming assimilated... The foundation of resocialization is interaction. Learning by doing, concrete role models, meetings with resource consultants and fellow implementers, practice of the behaviour, the fits and starts of cumulative, ambivalent, gradual self-confidence all constitute a process of coming to see the meaning of change more clearly.. ...these processes of sustained interaction and staff development are crucial regardless of what the change is concerned with* (Fullan p. 67).

In summary, for change to occur in an effective way, implementation must be viewed as resocialization, and for resocialization to occur, the individuals involved must be provided with a situation in which long-term interaction with other participants in the change process is possible. This view of change, and particularly implementation of change, represents a broadening of other, more narrow, technical or mechanical approaches to change.

The race relations policy itself reflects these differing approaches in its efforts to bring about change. In the "Preface" to the *Final Report of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations* the proposed change is expressed as follows:

> *The purpose of this report is to provide the Toronto Board of Education with a detailed program for stamping out racism in the Toronto school system* (p.i).

"Stamping out racism" is to take place on various planes. On the one hand, the stated purpose of the policy is to show "...that we condemn any expression of racial bias and that we will use all the authority we have to eliminate it" (p.i). This statement indicates that a course of action, previously defined in the the policy document, will be followed. To use Fullan's terms, it suggests a "mechanical" or "technical" approach to effecting change. On the other hand, it specifies that a goal of the race relations policy is "...to change the attitudes of staff and students who are prone to bigotry" (p.i). A process of resocialization is indicated.

The relationship between these two approaches is also laid out. The policy developers believe that a specific program or the legislation of behaviour can be implemented in a direct, technical sense. Resocialization will be the indirect result of such a direct program. This is expressed in the *Final Report*:

> *In our society it is not possible to legislate the way people feel and think. But it is possible to offer them assistance in changing attitudes, and to give them incentives to do this. It is certainly possible to regulate behaviour. The hope is that once people get used to the fact that racist behaviour will not be tolerated, the appropriate attitude change will follow* (p.i).

The conception of change with respect to race relations is therefore one of a cause-and-effect relationship between legislation of behaviour and resocialization. The latter is the result of the former. This conception contrasts with Fullan's view of resocialization being achieved directly through the interaction of individuals.

The foregoing account represents the rationale underlying the Race Relations Policy during the initiation phase. The policy was developed on the basis of such a rationale, and was adopted in those terms. When the Sub-Committee on Race Relations was given the mandate of monitoring implementation of the *Final Report*, implementation was understood simply to involve putting into place, in a technical sense, the 119 recommendations.

Fullan stresses, however, that implementation is not the simple putting into practice of predefined policy - a view that embodies a technical perspective on change and ignores the social dimension. He describes the implementation stage as a dynamic and creative phase in itself. Policy implementation takes shape through actual doing:

> *...we never fully know what implementation is or should look like until people in particular situations attempt to spell it out through use. Implementation makes further policy; it does not simply put predefined policy into practice (p.79).*

According to this perspective, the practical work of policy implementors "spells out" how they believe policy should be translated into practice. In this sense their work is interpretive: it embodies PartB:PartB:an interpretation of policy, and thus constitutes a reshaping of policy. Implementation is interpretation, and the interpretation manifests itself in implementation practice.

The work of the Race Relations Committee is examined from this perspective in the following sections. It is seen as epitomized in the formal committee motions. What is the main thrust of their work? What is their theory of change in race relations? What policy of race relations emerges from the implementation endeavours of the Race Relations Committee?

6.3.2. Race Relations and the Curriculum

According to Table 3, the Race Relations Committee has been most active in the area of Curriculum (22 percent of motions). The meaning of this statistic, however, hinges both on the Committee's view of "curriculum", and on the nature of what it has done for the sake of curriculum.

In the *Final Report*, curriculum is conceptualized as a means of socialization. The Ministry of Education policy on the goals of curriculum at primary and junior levels is quoted, and the following summary statement on how curriculum is viewed is then presented:

> *The curriculum then must provide opportunities for students to learn how to live well in a multiracial, multicultural society (p5).*

This view is subsequently elaborated:

> *The school has a significant role to play in helping minority children develop the ability to face and overcome racial discrimination, to reject the role of victim and to challenge with confidence the notion that they have less than an equal part to play in Canadian life and institutions. Schools must also help children of the majority race to develop the ability to recognize and reject racial stereotyping. And we must foster in all children a respect for differences and the recognition of the essential unity of the human race (p. 6).*

The statement reflects the Committee's long-range goal of attitude change, or resocialization, with respect to curriculum. Their strategy for achieving that goal indirectly, through behaviour legislation, is evident in the actual recommendations for action. First, bias is to be eliminated from curriculum materials. On the one hand, materials that contain racially offensive content are to be removed, and on the other, materials that represent minority groups are to be added to the curriculum in order to present a more accurate picture of the Canadian scene. Secondly, courses on race relations are to be introduced into the curriculum. Finally, teachers are to be trained in the means of teaching about race and race relations. This final aspect of dealing with race relations and the curriculum is more than legislation dealing with behaviour; in-service training in teaching about race and dealing with bias will provide an opportunity for a more direct means of attitude change and ultimate resocialization.

Where has the Race Relations Committee placed its emphasis? Have they proceeded "technically" by identifying bias in the curriculum and eliminating it in a literal sense? Or have they proceeded by dealing with bias through attempting to foster attitude change in individuals in the face of bias?

In 1980 three motions were made pertaining to curriculum. One pertained to an implementation budget and the other two called for exploratory work. The Committee wanted to know how library materials are selected and it also wanted to obtain information from the Ministry of Education on preparing guidelines for avoiding bias and prejudice in learning materials. It seems, therefore, that the Committee began its curriculum work by preparing the ground for subsequent detection of bias and prejudice.

In 1981 there was increased activity surrounding the curriculum. The committee was still gathering information: finding out to what extent topics concerning minorities form part of Social Studies programs in Toronto, finding out how evaluation of curriculum materials takes place at the Ministry, and seeking an explanation of Circular 14. Substantive work was also being carried out through review of a great number of texts and materials.

The first review considered by the Committee pertained to texts and materials in Business Education. The minutes from the meeting of February 9, 1981 show an underlying tension among the members of the Committee in regard to the handling of bias, or, stated in terms of the *Final Report*, the "stamping out of racism". On the one hand, the technical/mechanical approach is advocated:

> *The section on law is a particularly important section of the curriculm in terms of imparting values, and effort should be made to rid the texts of bias as soon as possible. (Minutes, 9.2.81, p.5)*
>
> *Publishers should be notified of identified biases and urged to work at revisons before printing their next editions. (Minutes, 9.2.81, p.5)*
>
> *The Board should transmit its view to publishers and insist that certain texts be withdrawn unless biases are removed. (Minutes, 9.2.81., p.6)*
>
> *The Board should report to the Ministry the biases found in texts and ask that they be withdrawn from circulation. (Minutes, 9.2.81, p.6)*

On the other hand, a very different view of "stamping out racism" emerges from the discussion:

> *More emphasis should be placed on in-service training for teachers, using a checklist of biases which can be applied to texts to teach students to become critical. (Minutes, 9.2.81, p.6)*

Rather than take an immediate stand on what sort of approach to take on dealing with bias, the Committee agreed to seek advice. A motion was made that:

> *...Dr. Mavis Burke, or another appropriate representative from the Ministry of Education be invited to a meeting in the near future, to advise the recommendations and findings of the Ministry Committee on Text Book Biases, and to jointly explore strategies to deal with text book bias (Minutes, 2.9.81., p.6).*

However, neither Dr. Burke nor another representative was able to attend any SCRR meetings for several months (Minutes, 3.17.81, p.1). The Committee thus never dealt in any offical and deliberate way with the issue of finding an agreeable strategy for dealing with textbook bias. The Committee did proceed, however, to deal with a great many texts and materials, and to make recommendations for action.

At the meeting of March 10, 1982 the Race Relations Committee dealt with bias in French Immersion textbooks. A Grade 3 text had been identified as portraying native people unfavorably. Although the Committee never officially resolved what strategy it would adopt for resolving issues of textook bias, their practices did indicate an implicit consensus: they eliminated bias technically, or mechanically, by either withdrawing offensive texts or adding books to create racial/ethnic balance. In the case of this French text, a tension emerges and a turning point is marked. Some members of the Committee advocated outright withdrawal of the text. The Assistant Superintendent of the Board's Curriculum Division pointed out, however, that because of budget constraints the text could not be replaced. The Chairperson of the Committee suggested that teachers could be trained to teach students to deal with bias, and that this text could serve as an example of bias with which an individual has to deal. The Committee debated which strategy to adopt, and the points of view were recorded as follows:

We can't remove books all the time; this is an opportunity to do in-service work with teachers around the issue of prejudice. They can teach kids to recognize and deal with it. (Fieldnotes, 10.3.82., p.2)

Let's take it out completely - stamp out racism completely! (Fieldnotes, 10.3.82, p.2)

After a lengthy discussion the Committee voted in favour of the following motion:

...that the Modern Languages Department prepare a guide for teachers to accompany the text of the story, "Vagabonds de l'eau", which would enable them to deal constructively with the biases of the text. (Minutes, 10.3.82, p.11)

This motion indicates a shift in the Committee from the technical strategy of stamping out racism and bringing about attitude change indirectly through legislation of behaviour, to a direct strategy of promoting attitude change through resocialization.

The subsequent work of the Committee, however, does not indicate an outright adoption of this strategy. For the rest of 1982, motions still show elimination of bias through text withdrawals and new text initiatives, along with further efforts to detect bias, although the approach to textbook withdrawal was altered. Rather than continue with outright withdrawal, the Committee decided on April 15, 1982 to withdraw texts in the context of inservice workshops. At a meeting of teachers the rationale behind withdrawal of a book would be explained so that the change would be meaningful.

In 1983 few substantive motions dealing with the curriculum were made. However, a different orientation emerged during Committee discussions. When a trustee from outside the Race Relations Committee challenged the integrity of the Committee's work by criticizing the racism visible, in the trustee's view, in the Committee guidelines for detecting bias in books, the Chairperson responded that in combatting racism it is important to be sensitive to the varying perceptions of racial/ethnic groups, and that the guideline was intended to make teachers more aware of this. It was a question of racial awareness training (Fieldnotes, 3.2.83., p.5).

The strategy being expressed by the Chairperson was direct attitude

change to bring about resocialization. When the "Facing History and Ourselves" curriculum was presented to the Committee on April 13, 1983, a similar perspective was evident. The guest speaker told how racism is brought into the open by using the case of the Holocaust, and how students and teachers seek to discuss issues of racism openly. It is clearly a curriculum that aims at attitude change. The Committee moved to support the curriculum in principle, and their enthusiasm is captured in the following exclamation by one member:

> *The curriculum is a whole different mindset! It's wonderful! (Fieldnotes, 13.4.83, p.4)*

In the case of the Committee's work on Race Relations and the Curriculum, the motions indicate an overriding emphasis on bias detection and subsequent elimination of bias by means of textbook withdrawal or addition of new books. It is the technical/mechanical approach to implementing change. The later activity, however, reflects a shift in perspective to initiating and encouraging attitude change. The Committee discussions bear witness to this "resocialization perspective", but only a few motions indicate work at that level.

The curriculum work carried out to the end of 1983 therefore includes concrete efforts primarily at the level of legislation of behaviour, and suggests an evolving perspective on implementation as hinging on meaningful resocialization. Although the discussions indicate that the committee members themselves underwent such resocialization, no tangible efforts at effecting resocialization across the system are evident in the area of curriculum.

6.3.3. System Sensitivity and Inservice Opportunities

In this section of the *Final Report*, the focus is on the role of school staff in effecting good race relations.

> *What is needed to ensure that the system it- self does not perpetrate or encourage racism in Toronto is a staff sensitive to the needs, hopes and aspirations of its community, and familiar with the deep and abiding meaning of its traditions, heritage and race (Final Report pp. 47-48).*

Attitude change is the crux of developing sensitivity to race/ethnic matters,

and inservice programs provide opportunities for fostering change of this kind. Despite this emphasis on resocializing of staff, a more mechanical type of action is also recommended.

> *To concentrate only on attempts to change the individual's attitudes is to assume that racism is the result solely of the individual's ignorance about race rather than an integral part of the social fabric reflected in the educational system. This cannot be banished merely by providing information in in-service sessions and the recommendations in the report suggest a variety of steps which can be taken to de-institutionalize racism (Final Report, pp. 48-49).*

In fact, there are recommendations to set up formal committees in each school to deal with race and ethnic relations.

How did the Race Relations Committee implement this section of the Report? What was the thrust of their work, and what light is shed on their view of the meaning of "stamping out racism"?

In 1979 the system sensitivity work consisted in the planning of inservice workshops and development of materials for use in them. This background planning continued as the central focus of effort until October 1980. At that time, the newly appointed Advisor on Race Relations for the Board presented a concrete timetable for inservice workshops to be conducted during the school year 1980-81, along with a description of subject-matter for these workshops. The motion to accept the timetable represented a transition in the Committee from planning workshops to a concern for actually carrying them out. After October 29, 1980, the date on which this motion was passed, the Committee never again dealt formally with such workshops, but the Advisor on Race Relations did report on their progress. On April 29, 1982, for example, he informed the Committee of attendance at and response to the "As the World Really Turns" series (Minutes, April 29, 1981, p.15). Such reports reminded the Committee that work in sensitizing staff was going on.

At the same time, however, the Committee began to stress the more technical component of the system sensitivity recommendations. On October 2, 1980, the idea of pilot schools in key areas in Toronto was expressed. These schools would fully implement the Race Relations Report and thus play a leadership role in the system. Accordingly, a motion to explore the feasibility

of establishing "Human Rights Leadership Schools" was carried. This motion did not respond directly to any of the 119 recommendations, but expands upon Recommendation No. 66, which calls for a Race Relations committee system to be established in the schools. Human Rights Leadership Schools would do more than simply have race relations committees; they would be organized and administered in such a way that they exemplified an ideal school from the point of view of race relations.

The majority of system sensitivity motions subsequent to October 1980 dealt with planning and monitoring the Human Rights Leadership Schools. It was decided on June 10, 1981 that three schools would be involved in the project for the 1981-82 school year. Two schools actually followed through. A report was submitted by one pilot school in June, 1982, and the Committee indicated they planned to decide whether or not to continue with the project in the following year. It appears that the matter was dropped because it does not reappear in Committee proceedings (see Table 4).

It was pointed out that developing sensitivity to race relations across the system is an issue of attitude change. Since there was considerable work in this area, the Committee clearly seemed concerned about effecting attitude change. However, although the Committee was concerned that workshops took place, as specified in the Final Report, it did not concern itself with what actually happened during the workshops. Once they were under way, the Committee proceeded to work on another aspect of system sensitivity. The Human Rights Leadership Schools project, on which several motions were made, represents again a concern that a model race relations situation exist, but not a concern for its actual workings.

Table 4: CHRONOLOGY OF COMMITTEE ACTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERSHIP SCHOOLS

October 2, 1980	Director of Education to report to next meeting on feasibility of designating several several schools as "human rights leadership schools".
June 10, 1981	Project proposal approved in Race Relations Committee and referred to Director of Education for implementation in Sept. 81; three schools to be involved.
January 19, 1982	Report from Director of Education on Human Rights Leadership Schools; budget increased to $20,000, but only two schools involved.
June 14, 1982	Report on project submitted by one of the consultants on the Human Rights Leadership Schools. - motion made to investigate feasibility of continuing project in 82/83 - evaluation mechanism to be a component of the project - final report to be shared with all schools.
September 21, 1982	-reports considered - decision to be made later on feasibility of continuing the project.[1]

[1]This item of business was not dealt with formally in the Race Relations Committee proceedings. However, through research project work it is known the Human Rights Leadership School project did continue.

It appears that the Committee initially tackled implementation of system sensitivity and inservice opportunities recommendations by adopting a mechanical approach: a straightforward creation of mechanisms that ultimately are supposed to better race relations. To bring about resocialization, however, requires the provision of substance for those mechanisms -- providing the content with which individuals interact and through which their attitudes change.

This interpretation is corroborated by remarks made during a Committee discussion where students who had attended an extra-curricular weekend retreat on race relations reported their experiences. When a Committee member suggested that students consult with their school's official "Race Relations Representative," the students responded that "...they didn't even realize that there was a Race Relations Representative in their schools." (Fieldnotes, 26.10. 83, p. 5). After the Committee explained the function of the representative, the students were excited about this and wondered why they did not know about them. This event shows that although there had been success in establishing the position of "Race Relations Representative", the challenge of making it an integral, dynamic part of the school system remained to be met.

Activities in the "Curriculum" area showed that the Committee made a transition to being concerned about effecting attitude change in a direct way. Its support for the "Facing History and Ourselves" curriculum is one example. At that same time, a similar transition was made in the area of "System Sensitivity and In-Service Opportunities". The comment was made that the curriculum was "wonderful because it embodied a whole different mindset" (Fieldnotes, 13.4.83, p.4). Evidently the Committee came to the realization that sensitizing staff to race relations involved adoption of that different mind-set. A motion was made that reflected this new perspective on staff development:

> *...that the Director of Education investigate and report to the May meeting of Race Relations Committee on possible modes of obtaining funding for teachers interested in participating in workshops held by the Facing History and Ourselves Resource Centre in Brookline, Massachusetts. (Minutes, 13.4.83, p.9)*

6.3.4. Employment/Promotion and Race Relations

In both Curriculum and System Sensitivity and Inservice Opportunities, a tension between legislation of behaviour and efforts aimed at attitude change could be seen developing. The *Final Report* indicated both perspectives were possible. The Committee emerged as an agent for legislation of behaviour at the outset, and then shifted towards attitude change.

In contrast with these two realms, Employment and Promotion initiatives are described in the *Final Report* in such a way that they appear as strict legislation of behaviour. The Report focusses on "measures" to be taken to ensure good race relations behaviour in employment and promotion practices.

In the preamble to the recommendations, the general requirements according to which the recommendations were developed are stated. In the first place there is a requirement for "active equal opportunity measures" (p. 56); secondly, there is a requirement for measures against conscious or unconscious prejudices and discrimination (p. 56); thirdly, there are measures to "ensure that the Board of Education is, in reality, an equal opportunity employer" (p. 56); and finally there are to be measures "which will assist all employees of the Board to accept and respect each other's racial/ethnic differences."

The recommendations themselves present specific guidelines for practice in employment and promotions, and specific criteria for making decisions in these matters. This section of the Report is clearly an example of an attempt to regulate behaviour. The change strategy adopted is the indirect route to attitude change; if good race relations are made a requirement in employment/promotions behaviour, the appropriate attitude change will follow.

In fact, the Race Relations Committee perpetuated this approach in its implementation work. The motions reflect only the putting into place of recommendations. No shift towards efforts at directly encouraging attitude change is evident.

In 1980, work began on Recommendations 89 and 90. These provided for a survey to be undertaken to identify visible/ethnic minorities and female employees of the Board. This survey was to function as the basis for a subsequent career counselling program. Work was also undertaken on establishment of an Employment and Promotions Appeals Committee. All motions in 1980, the year in which the most work in this area occurred, pertained to these two topics. The motions made in the subsequent years indicate a persisting concern with the same issues.

The Employment/Promotions work represents a straightforward effort at gathering information by means of conducting surveys and establishing and monitoring a committee that deals with appeals. "Stamping out racism" in employment and promotion practices evidently means legislating mechanisms that monitor equal opportunity; that is, enabling employees to appeal decisions. This is a matter of "technically" dealing with racism.

The information-gathering efforts, on the other hand, function to raise the awareness of those conducting and those reading the surveys -- the Board's researchers and the Race Relations Committee. Since no further action was undertaken on the basis of the surveys, they cannot, in themselves, be seen as effecting good race relations system-wide.

6.3.5. Placement and Assessment

The policy of the Toronto Board is to provide all people with equal access to education:

> *It is the policy of the Toronto Board of Education to work towards equality in educational opportunity and educational outcomes on the clear understanding that, although there will be differences in achievement among individual students, school achievement should be independent of either socio-economic status or ethnic origins (Minutes, 9.2.81., p.6).*

The recommendations in the the Final Report stipulate both that the current situation be researched, and that procedures be established for parents to question the placement and/or assessment of their children. Provisions are to be made for the students to obtain adequate information on the alternatives open to them in education, and to overcome any linguistic barriers.

Efforts in race relations as they relate to students' placement and assessment in schools are basically parallel to the efforts made in the area of employment and promotions. That is, the motions made reflect primarily investigative work. All the students in the system were surveyed to discover any link between race/ethnicity and placement; the transition from elementary to secondary school was documented; the tracking of students from Grade 9 to graduation was undertaken; figures on the incidence of females in technical education were requested; investigation of placement and assessment procedures in Special Education was requested.

However, in contrast with employment and promotions work, an effort to move in the direction of direct attitude change can be discerned. Rather than limit the use of the student surveys to the Board and the Race Relations Committee, a motion was made on Dec. 2, 1981, to distribute the Grade Nine Student Survey Report to all schools in the system. This was evidently an attempt to sensitize staff members to the current relationship between race relations and placement and assessment by increasing their awareness of the data. This step marks a departure from the strategy of legislation of behaviour.

This tendency is seen again in the Dec. 14, 1983, meeting of the Race Relations Committee where representatives from the Board's Guidance Division made a presentation on the "Time to Choose" document (a Grade 8 information booklet on secondary school programs). Questioning by a committee member reflected a concern for the individual guidance teacher's role in influencing students' placement. The member asked about "...what guidance teachers in fact do... their goals in teaching... what role they play in student placement at the Grade 8 level." (Fieldnotes, 14.12.83., p. 4). The member also asked "...whether a full-time guidance teacher would be involved directly with student placement." (Fieldnotes, 14.12.83., pp. 4-5). This line of questioning can be interpreted as a strategy for highlighting a crucial aspect of placement and assessment: teacher/student interaction. The message that emerges is that this aspect needs to be explored. If problems are uncovered, the need for resocialization would become evident. These surmises are made on the basis of the member's questions -- questions that appear based on belief in the need for system-wide attitude change. This interpretation was also made in the light of the committee member's interest, established earlier in the

discussion about race relations and the curriculum, in advocating efforts aimed directly at attitude change.

Again, as was the case in the other implementation areas, the formal motions reflect direct response to recommendations in the *Final Report*, which themselves represent a technical/mechanical approach to implementation. In the course of time, however, discussions during Committee meetings and a few motions show a gradual movement towards the resocialization strategy in effecting change.

6.3.6. Racial Incidents in the Schools

With this category, the *Final Report* again advocates a dual thrust for dealing with racism. At the mechanical level of behaviour legislation, the establishment of "crisis intervention teams" is recommended:

> *The Director be requested to call together representatives from the School Community Relations Department, the Student Services Department, appropriate community representatives, the Ontario Human Rights Commission and the professional associations to work out a plan for the creation of crisis intervention teams to go into schools on short notice where racial/ethnic tensions threaten to disrupt the normal functioning of the school (Final Report, p. 36).*

Both of the motions made in 1980 dealt with creation of crisis intervention teams - it was the Committee's sole concern in the "racial incidents" area at the outset. This concern was apparently abandoned after 1980. No more business on these teams arose at the meetings, and at a June 1982 Community Forum it was reported that the established team was never used and had been disbanded (Fieldnotes, 9.6.82., p. 8).

In presenting measures for legislating behaviour in the area of racial incidents, the *Final Report* dealt with incidents as a legal issue. (Recommendation Nos. 43 to 48, pp. 36 - 37). The police can be called in to handle violence resulting from racial incidents. This is a highly mechanical method of "stamping out racism". In fact, the Race Relations Committee never concerned itself with police liaison. A representative from the Toronto Police Force complained about this neglect at the Community Forum on June 9, 1982, but still the Committee did not initiate action at that level (Fieldnotes, 9.6.82., pp. 10 - 12).

Provision for direct socialization is made in the Final Report:

> *In all instances of intervention relative to the implementation of Recommendation 34 above, and when the timing and circumstances of the intervention permit, the staff involved use the incident as an opportunity for a learning experience and to explain the reasons for the Board and school policy (p. 35).*

In this sense, racial incidents become an educational issue, not a matter of law enforcement or discipline. However, none of the motions made directly reflect this goal of resocialization. Perhaps the efforts in other areas of the *Final Report* are viewed as precluding racial incidents. That is, if attitude change can be achieved through work on the curriculum, for example, or through sensitizing the system, then there will be no racial incidents. Perhaps such incidents are viewed as best handled through prevention rather than intervention. This may explain, in part, why the Committee may not have responded directly to Recommendation 35. However, this view was never voiced, although it was implicit in the Committee's June 10, 1981, endorsement of a curriculum unit to be developed on the Ku Klux Klan and its influence in Toronto's Riverdale area. It was suggested that "...this unit might present a method by which a community could study itself and racism within it." (Minutes, 10.6.81., p. 21).

The motion that the committee did pass reflects a different point of view. Rather than acting as the agent for implementation of the *Final Report*, the Committee adopted the role of actor: the Committee itself dealt directly with actual "racial incidents." For example, the Committee saw an article published by the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation as an incident of racism. This article linked I.Q. level to race, and so the Committee sent a letter to the Federation expressing concern about the article. (Minutes, 10.6.81., p. 22). Similarly, the Committee viewed the Board's decision to rename "Argentina School" in response to the Falkland Islands War as an expression of bias and wrote a letter to that effect. (Minutes, 3.2.83., p. 2). Finally, when the casting director of the film, *The Terry Fox Story*, drew actors from the track team at Toronto's Central Technical School, he specified wanting only Canadians. The Committee decided to write a letter of reproach to the director for his behaviour. (Minutes, 24.5.83., p. 13)

Whereas the areas of Committee work previously described indicate concrete action at the level of legislation of behaviour and transition towards efforts at bringing about attitude change, the work on "Racial Incidents in the Schools" reveals a different perspective. The Committee is seen as shifting from its role as "agent" for implementation of change to a role of "actor." The Committee is *enacting* policy. It is itself condemning expression of racial bias, rather than taking steps to produce condemnation of racial bias.

6.3.7. Extra-Curricular Activities

The *Final Report* stipulates that good race relations be established in the extra-curricular activities of students. These activities are specified as being primarily ethnic clubs or athletics. Legislation that eliminates racist behaviour in the context of such activities is to be effected. For example, clubs are not to be exclusive to any particular group; all athletic organizations are to be open to all students alike; and the problem of loitering at school is to be resolved. The Report also presents a policy of cultural exchange programs (*Final Report*, pp. 39-46).

The Race Relations Committee did not act on any of these elements of the extra-curricular policy. Instead, an altogether different development took place. The Committee sponsored multicultural/multiracial leadership seminars. The first five of the seven motions in this area dealt with them. These seminars were not conceived directly within the limits of the race relations policy document, yet they are of central significance for making sense of the Committee's endeavours.

Early in the life of the Committee, when the thrust of the work was of a technical nature, a group of teachers from the Toronto system proposed the institution of leadership seminars. The seminars were to take place in a residential "camp" setting over several consecutive days. The intention was that changed attitudes be fostered in students and leaders, and that these individuals assume leadership roles in their schools and thereby pass along the attitude change ("Proposal", Agenda, 5.2.80., pp. 46-51).

The idea of these seminars was accepted by the Committee, and the first one was held in April, 1981. The name for it, and subsequent ones, was "Camp

Kandalore". Another was held in October, 1981, and at the November 4, 1981, meeting the Committee heard a report of the camp from several adult participants. There was a high level of excitement as evidenced in the comment that the camp was an "incredible experience" (Fieldnotes, 4.11.81., p.1) where kids learned about more than race relations and multiculturalism: they learned about themselves. The Committee commended the Race Relations Advisor and the Planning Committee for the quality of the camp, and stated that "the camp is a very important part of the race relations policy." (Fieldnotes, 4.11.81.)

Camp Kandalore was designed in such a way that attitude change was to be achieved directly through meaningful teaching. Students were encouraged to play the role of members of various minorities. They found their own racial/ethnic bias through interaction with other camp participants. Bias became personally relevant in this way, and individuals *wanted* to change. This is "meaningful" change, in Fullan's terms.

The Race Relations Committee's endorsement of Camp Kandalore marks their growing commitment to effecting the race relations policy through attitude change and resocialization. On January 19, 1982, a motion was made to continue sponsorship of the camp, and to explore the possibility of expanding it. This commitment became more evident at the May 4, 1982, meeting where students from the most recent Camp Kandalore addressed the Committee. One hour of a two-and-one-half hour meeting was devoted to hearing the students' reports. It was an emotionally charged session, with students speaking enthusiastically and Committee members responding with equal enthusiasm.

The camps continued to take place, and the Committee was reminded of their success from time to time. On October 26, 1983, another group of Camp Kandalore participants addressed the Committee. Again it was an enthusiastic, emotional discussion. The Committee's emerging orientation towards effecting race relations is perhaps captured by comments made to these students. The fieldnotes document the one member's reaction as follows:

> *I'm so glad to hear you speaking this way.' She went on to acknowledge that going to Camp Kandalore is a deeply emotional experience and that it is an experience that would more than likely change them for life. She added that it was very important that they*

had had this exerience, and told them to treasure it." (Fieldnotes, 26.10.83., p.4)

When extra-curricular activities take on this type of function, the curriculum goals and the goals described here begin to overlap. The Committee moved from attempts to "remove bias" to fostering "a whole new mindset."

6.3.8. Equal Opportunity Programming and Responsibilities of Other Levels of Government

The foregoing six sub-sections correspond to sections in the *Final Report of Sub-Committee on Race Relations*, and have appeared here in an order indicating the emphasis placed on them by the Committee. The categories from the *Final Report* entitled "Equal Opportunity Programming" and "Responsibilities of other Levels of Government" were not treated because virtually no activity took place in these areas.

The "Internal Administration" category was created to accommodate motions pertaining to matters of Committee business or procedure, independent of matters related to race relations policy. These motions are not examined and interpreted here because they are not directly related to policy implementation and therefore provide little direct insight into the question of how the Committee went about "stamping out racism". By contrast, the "Public Relations" category does provide such insight, and will thus be examined in some depth.

6.3.9. Public Relations

The need for a category to accommodate "public relations" motions is revealing. In the Race Relations Policy there is no provision for the Committee to make itself known beyond the school system, yet the Committee made a number of motions that indicate such an objective. For example, on Feb. 9, 1981 the decision was made to write a letter of reproach to the Toronto police for raiding the gay bathhouses; on Jan. 19, 1982, a motion was made to have the Toronto Board adopt a supportive stance towards Amnesty International; and on June 14, 1982, the Committee decided to write to the Ontario Ministry

of Education about their concerns over Bill 127, the "Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Amendment Act," which pertains to the hiring of teachers. The Committee wrote a letter of commendation dated Feb. 3, 1983, to the Children's Aid Society for its report on Multicultural Programs.

In these and similar instances, the Race Relations Committee sought to exercise influence outside the Toronto school system. The committee felt, for example, that Bill 127 might enhance racism in employment practices, so it took action. Furthermore, in expressing support for organizations committed to good race relations, the Committee was publicizing itself and its own views.

These "public relations" efforts can be viewed as indicating a trend parallel to the one identified in the "Racial Incidents" work. The Committeee moved out of an agent role and into an actor one. Rather than simply serving as intermediary between policy and action towards change, the Committee itself enacted policy, and moreover, it extended its influence from the school system into the larger community.

6.4. CONCLUSION

In section 3,the work of the Race Relations Committee was interpreted with a view to discovering how the original policy has been shaped and developed during the implementation process, and with a view to determining the Committee's underlying approach to implementation, and more generally, to educational change.

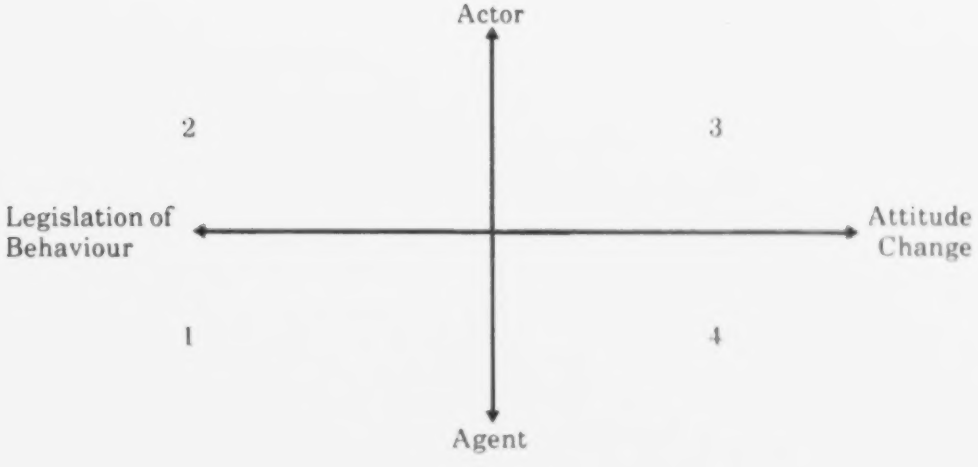
Earlier, the purpose of the Race Relations Policy was explained as being "to stamp out racism", and the hope was that such efforts would indirectly bring about attitude change. The mandate of the Committee was to monitor implementation of the *Final Report*; i.e., to ensure that the procedures for legislating behaviour and for ultimately producing attitude change were put in place within the school system.

The interpretions of the Committee's work in the various topic areas indicate that the thrust of the original policy underwent modification as a result of Committee action. In a quantitative sense, the motions reflect an overriding concern with legislation of behaviour. However, in "Extra-

Curricular Activities" there was initiative to directly change attitudes in the context of residential camps. This perspective began to emerge in "Curriculum" as well, but only in the later years, and is reflected in Committee discussions more than in formal motions.

The approach to implementing the policy also underwent some modification. Whereas the Committee's primary function was that of intermediary or "agent" for change, a more direct approach was taken in some areas. In its capacity of dealing with "Racial Incidents in the Schools" or in its "Public Relations" work, a trend towards direct enactment of change becomes evident. Rather than orchestrate change in others, the Committee adopted the function of "actor".

The development taking place in the Committee's work is therefore occurring on two planes - that of policy approach and that of implementor's role. In the case of the first plane there is tension between viewing the "stamping out of racism" as legislation of behaviour or as attitude change, and on the second plane there is tension between viewing the "implementor" as agent or as actor. The Race Relations Committee's development can be portrayed diagrammatically when these two planes are depicted as two intersecting axes in a matrix.



According to the above matrix, and on the basis of the motions, the Committee would be primarily situated in the first quadrant. There is a trend evident, however, towards development upward along the axis of implementor's role - away from "agent" towards "actor". The thrust of the policy shifts towards the right along the horizontal axis - away from legislation of behaviour towards attitude change. Although the bulk of the substantive work falls into the lower left quadrant, there is a real sense of pull towards the upper right quadrant, a sense that emerged strongly during Committee meetings.

Behaviour legislation requires an *application* of policy: policy is developed at the Board, and it is passed down to be placed in the system. According to this change model, the Committee mandated to monitor implementation has a dispatching role: to ensure that the policy is "placed" in the appropriate situations. Attitude change, on the other hand, requires not application, but rather a fostering or encouragement of change. In this sense the role of the Committee monitoring implementation of policy moved away from ensuring that policy became imposed. The Committee itself began to internalize the policy; by interacting with members of the school system and the community, the Committee itself would serve as an example of good race relations.

This approach is most evident in the public relations work of the Committee. By making themselves known and by acting publicly in accordance with their own policy, they provide the community with a good race relations model. The Committee's mode of dealing with Camp Kandalore also indicates such an orientation. Committee members themselves interact with students and teachers, and thus become imbued with a sensitivity to race relations. The Committee views it as praiseworthy when the individuals have internalized these points of view (Fieldnotes, 4.5 82.; 26.10.83).

The elimination of bias is one key goal of the policy. In the early curriculum work, efforts of identifying bias in textbooks and removing the books were occurring at the Board level. This was interpreted as a mechanical/technical implementation program aimed directly at regulating behaviour. Later, students and teachers are encouraged to deal with biased

material openly, and to enter into discussions about it in order to heighten sensitivity to racial issues. This is intended to foster "a whole new mindset". The top-down approach (Board to school) gives way to an interactive mode of dealing with bias. Students, teachers, and Board personnel are all involved in addresing bias.

This approach was openly advocated in the Dec. 14, 1983, meeting of the Committee when the Board Guidance Department presented the latest version of the "Time to Choose" booklet, used by Grade 8 students to help them decide on secondary school programs. The Committee examined the document for any expression of bias. During the discussion, concern was expressed about finding an appropriate procedure for identifying bias. Rather than recruit particular Board staff for the task, the Committee suggested that students at Camp Kandalore do this. As part of their activities they could examine "A Time to Choose" and advise the Board of any bias.

This marks a significant shift in how the process of change is conceptualized. It is no longer a top-down imposition of procedures for instituting change; it is a system-wide internalization of the change by means of interaction.

If this indeed came to be the underlying goal of the Race Relations Committee, their activity would reflect leadership in that direction. Members began to move in that direction when they heard and supported presentations on attitude-changing curricula (e.g., *Facing History and Ourselves*) and began to see such an approach as worthwhile. The members began viewing films aimed at dealing with bias. They had speakers address the group, for example, Dr. Beryl Banfield from the Council on International Books in New York, who spoke on how a "new mindset" can be brought about in students and teachers (Fieldnotes, January 11, 1983). These activities represent an educational process undergone by the Committee members for the purpose of resocialization. Gradually, efforts were made to expand that resocialization to a wider sphere. When a trustee challenged the integrity of the Committee's work on Febuary 3, 1983, for example, the Committee members responded by trying to educate the trustee to the need for attitude change in dealing with bias, and showing the trustee how such attitude change takes place.

Let us return finally to Fullan's statement that implementation is not pre-defined, but spelled out through use, and that implemenation makes further policy. What policy development has occurred in the implementation work of the Race Relations Committee?

In the first place, whereas both legislation of behaviour and attitude change are possible in the context of the *Final Report*, there is a theoretical emphasis on the former. The motions indicate an emphasis on the part of the Committee on that aspect. Underneath, however, interest in attitude change mounts, and becomes evident in Committee discussions.

Closely related to the shifting emphasis towards bringing about attitude change is a shifting interpretation of what elimination of bias means. Rather than work only on physical removal of bias from behaviour, there is a trend towards acknowledgment of, inquiry into, and understanding of bias. Rather than sheer intolerance of racism, sensitivity to racism and growing out of racism is being encouraged in individuals throughout the school system and even in the community at large. It occurs in the Committee members themselves and in persons touched directly by them (e.g., students at Camp Kandalore).

Is such an approach to implementation effective? It is not within the scope of this paper to answer that question, but perhaps the following remarks by Fullan will offer a perspective from which to consider it:

> *Individuals must find meaning (in change)...what does the change mean for what I do? What does the process of introduction and follow-through look like from my perspective?...the key to school improvement is to recognize that individual meaning is the central issue, and to do things that will enhance this meaning... We cannot have successful change if individuals responsible for making it happen do not come to experience the sense of excitement, the mastery of new skills, and clarity about what the change is and why it is working" (p. 295).*

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Part B: A VIEW FROM THE ADMINISTRATION: THE TRANSLATION OF RACE RELATIONS POLICY INTO CURRICULUM MATERIALS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the *Multicultural Report* (1976) and the *Final Report of the Sub-committee on Race Relations* (1979), the Toronto Board of Education presented its policy on race relations as it affected schools which fell within its jurisdiction. It further committed itself to the implementation of this policy. This was recorded in the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Education on February 27, 1979:

> *That the outgoing Board (1978) recommended to the incoming Board (1979) that the Sub-Committee on Race Relations of the Parent Committee on Race Relations and Multiculturalism be reconstituted to monitor the implementation of the Final Report of the Sub-Committee.*

Of the 119 recommendations contained in the *Final Report*, twenty were related to curriculum. The data collected and the analysis undertaken in this report note the translation of Race Relations policy into curriculum materials.

6.2 COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Data collection proceeded through an examination of curriculum materials produced by the Toronto Board of Education and interviews with representatives of the Board, the Race Relations Committee, and the Advisory Council on Bias in the Curriculum. In addition, a researcher attended meetings of the Race Relations Committee, and examined documents produced by the Advisory Council on Bias in the Curriculum, as well as minutes kept of meetings of both groups. Discussions held with the Advisory Committee of the research project also led to further insight into curriculum writing work done in relation to the policy.

Data collected may be classified as follows: interview transcripts, minutes of meetings of the Advisory Council on Bias in the Curriculum, minutes of meetings of the Race Relations Committee, Curriculum Ideas for Teachers, reports of analyses of books used in public schools, and literature of other countries.

These data were analyzed for their relationship to relevant statements of

intent contained in policy documents. The Race Relations Report, for example, recommended that the Curriculum Division undertake a critical review of curriculum materials in order to identify materials which contained racial/ethnic bias. The way in which this was accomplished -- through the setting up of committees, the production of documents, and the concept of bias which guided the work -- is examined in this report.

6.3 THE RACE RELATIONS POLICY

In 1976, the final draft of the *Multicultural Report* was prepared by the Toronto Board of Education. One of the areas dealt with was bias in the curriculum. This report recognized that:

> *In a multicultural society each person has the right to cultural integrity, to a positive self-image and to an understanding of and respect for differences.* (Toronto Board of Education, 1976)

It further argued that the multicultural nature of the society should be reflected in the curriculum of the schools. The current curriculum in Toronto schools was felt to contain racial/ethnic bias. The report therefore called for the identification of culturally and racially biased materials, as well as for the development of new, more appropriate materials.

The Race Relations Report outlined, in operational terms, the means which would be used in the implementation of the report. It recommended, for example, that teams of classroom teachers and ethnic/racial groups undertake curriculum reviews, that teacher guides which contained accurate supplementary information be developed, and that biased materials be withdrawn immediately.

6.4 STRUCTURES WHICH MONITORED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS PERTAINING TO CURRICULUM

Several structures were set in place with a view to ensuring the implementation of this policy, as follows:

6.4.1 The Race Relations Committee

This committee originated as a work group on Race Relations, set up by the Board of Education in response to the multicultural report. The Committee dealt specifically with issues of race and ethnicity. It included community

representatives, publishers, and representatives from the Toronto Board of Education. This work group brought forward a report which was approved by the Board. One of its recommendations was that the Race Relations Committee continue to monitor the implementation of the report. The group was extended and known as the Race Relations Committee. Initially, all curriculum documents were reviewed by this committee prior to final approval by the Senior Curriculum Council. This process, however, gradually underwent change.

6.4.2 The Advisory Council on Bias in the Curriculum

The Advisory Council on Racism in the Curriculum was also struck. This committee reviewed curriculum materials for racial/ethnic bias, and advised the Superintendent of Curriculum on such matters. It included representatives from the community, the teachers' federations, and the Toronto Board. The committee was later renamed the Advisory Council on Bias in the Curriculum, and its mandate was extended to advise the Superintendant of Curriculum and Programs Division on all matters of bias: racism, sexism, bias toward the handicapped and the aged. Representatives from the Status of Women and the Race Relations Committee were included on the committee. Their concern was with bias against any single group or set of groups, as reflected in the curriculum. Formerly, curriculum documents were reviewed by the Race Relations Committee, the Advisory Council on Racism in the Curriculum (ACRC), and the Status of Women Committee. Now they were reviewed only by the the Advisory Council on Bias in the Curriculum (ACBC), prior to dissemination by the Senior Curriculum Council. This council received reports from the Curriculum and Program Division on the current status of curriculum materials developed in response to the Race Relations Report, and on workshops which were under way in the system. The Curriculum Council also made recommendations concerning the elimination of bias.

6.4.3 The Working Committee of Teachers on Bias in the Curriculum

This was a short term group composed of representatives across the system. They met on a regular basis to develop strategies for helping schools to become aware of the Board's policies and to heighten teachers' sensitivity to race issues. This committee organized workshops for teachers on matters of bias in the curriculum.

6.5 THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE CURRICULUM AND PROGRAM DIVISION

The Curriculum and Program Division is housed in the Toronto Board of Education. Its activities are monitored by the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendents of the Curriculum and Program Division. Curriculum coordinators are responsible for the development of curriculum materials in the various subject areas. Copies of materials produced by each subject department are kept by the Assistant Superintendents of Curriculum and Programs. In this office curriculum materials produced in response to the Board's Race Relations Policy were examined.

The Superintendent and Assistant Superintendents monitor all the curriculum work done by the subject coordinators. One of their tasks is to ensure that all policy recommendations that concern curriculum development are carried out. The materials produced by this Division are directed primarily to teachers. Less emphasis is placed on materials actually used by students.

Each fall, writing needs are discussed among the subject coordinators, the Superintendent, and the Assistant Superintendents of Curriculum. They look, for example, at the present state of curriculum documents in relation to Ministry guidelines. Thus, for example, if the Ministry of Education issues a new guideline, this is examined with a view to developing materials which would assist teachers in its implementation. The Curriculum and Program Division then advertises within the system for teachers interested in doing summer writing. These teachers are contracted to produce an acceptable document. This document is reviewed by both the subject coordinator and the Assistant Superintendent, prior to its field testing in the schools. It may then be revised again. The final draft is submitted to a senior curriculum council, which decides on the best way to disseminate the information throughout the system. In an attempt to ensure that the Board's policies are reflected in the writing work done, there is an increasing reliance on the use of people from within the system, since they are already familiar with the policies.

6.6 THE TRANSLATION OF THE BOARD'S POLICY INTO CURRICULUM MATERIALS

The task which was being addressed by the Curriculum and Program

Division was the identification and replacement of biased documents. The objective was a reflection of the multicultural nature of the city in the curriculum of the schools, and the elimination of bias (Int. no. 1). This, therefore, represented an attempt by the Toronto Board to ensure that its Race Relations policy was reflected in the schools' curriculum. It was accomplished by means of reviews of present curriculum materials, the development of supplementary materials, and the stimulation of teachers' awareness of forms of bias as they existed in the curriculum.

6.6.1 The Concept of Bias

The concept of bias which guided the implementation of the Race Relations Policy evolved over the course of the study. Curriculum reviewers began their task with a general definition of bias which was derived from guidelines developed by the Ontario Ministry of Education:

> 1. An opinion formed without adequate reason.
>
> 2. An inclination or preference that makes it difficult or impossible to judge fairly in a particular situation; a general opinion that has unfair influence on a specific decision.
>
> (Ontario Ministry of Education *Race, Religion and Culture in Ontario School Materials: Suggestions for Authors and Publishers*)

Curriculum materials would thus be reviewed for such unfair treatment of particular ethnic/racial groups. The primary aim would be:

> 1. Identification of materials that reflect a positive and creative attitude toward Canadian cultural pluralism.
>
> 2. Identification of culturally and racially biased content.
>
> (Board of Education, 1976)

This concept of bias was gradually expanded to include bias against any group or set of groups. This included racial/ethnic groups, the handicapped, the aged, etc.

Both the 'bias of omission' and the 'bias of commission' were found in curriculum materials in use in classrooms. The bias of omission referred to materials which failed to recognize the presence of minority groups. Minorities, for example, were found to be poorly represented in textbooks. This

was reflected in the illustrations used and the choice of names for characters in stories. Another omission was the acknowledgement of the contributions of other cultures to the accumulation of knowledge within the world. Thus, for example, although the basis for many services now common in the Western world can be found in Egypt or Greece or Russia, this is scarcely acknowledged in textbooks. Inclusion of such knowledge, it was felt, could lead to a better reflection of the multicultural nature of the schools and the society.

The bias of "commission" referred to overt forms of bias which existed in materials reviewed. It included the inaccurate representation of minorities in texts. Such biases were referred to as:

1. bias by disparagement - where certain minority groups are depicted as comic because they differ in some particular from the majority appearance.

2. bias by distortion of fact - where, for example, there was inaccurate portrayal of physical appearance

3. bias by tacit assumption - where minority group members were shown only in secondary, never leadership roles.

(On Bias, produced by the Toronto Board of Education)

6.6.2 Curriculum Reviews

Curriculum reviews were undertaken as a first step in the elimination of bias in the curriculum. Recommendation 1 (A) of the Race Relations Report states:

> *Teams of classroom teachers and representatives of ethnic and visible minority community groups, under the supervision and coordination of the Curriculum Division, undertake a critical review of curriculum materials now in use in order to identify materials which contain racial/ethnic bias and prejudice...*

To this end, reviews of curriculum materials in use were conducted by each subject department in the Board of Education. These were included as part of the Summer Writing Projects for which teams of classroom teachers were hired.

Materials reviewed included texts, kits, songs and other materials used in classrooms. Reviewers examined, for example, the author's choice of

language, the perpetration (or lack of) of stereotypes, the type of illustrations and the representation of minorities. Thus, songs such as 'Little Indian', 'The Macaroni Song' and 'Old Black Joe' were rejected for classroom use on the basis of their perpetuation of stereotypes.

Criteria were developed to assist reviewers in identification of biased materials. These included:

1. Does the material show an obvious bias?
2. Does the material show a subtle bias?
3. Are value-laden words and terminology used?
4. Are foreign names and terms used effectively?
5. Do the print materials perpetuate stereotypes?
6. Are the faces of members of an ethnic group stereotypically represented in visual material?
7. Does the material demean or ridicule minorities on the basis of race and colour, religion or cultural background?
8. Will the material reinforce the positive self-image of the minority student?
9. Will the material develop negative images of minorities in the minds of other students? (Modern Languages Department, August 1980)